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ABSTRACT

The papers presented to a working group at the Conference on Social Deprivation and Change in Education, York, England, are comprised of the following: (1) Problems in the inner city (J.D. McConaghy), characterizing the decline of inner areas of cities in Britain as due to failure of management and of government; (2) The school and capitalist development (S.M. Borrelli), relating to the Italian context; (3) A theoretical model of the determinants of educational attainment (D.S. Byrne and W. Williamson), suggests that deprivation in an educational context is perhaps best understood in a material sense; (4) Education--a social and political investment (R. Penn), focuses on the services provided by the many sections of a Welsh county education department; (5) Philosophical analysis and educational priority areas (C.J.C. Yates and J.L. Sword); (6) The classroom behavior of socially-handicapped boys (G. Herbert), seeks to clarify the concept of troublesome behavior in culturally deprived boys of primary school age; (7) Adult education, deprivation and community development--a critique (K. Jackson and R. Ashcroft); (8) Identification of children in need (R. Evans); (9) The teacher as researcher: a key to innovation and change (J.C. Bartholemew); and, (10) Problems of educational policy design and implementation for a cultural minority (A.R. Ivatts). [Several pages of this document are not clearly printed.] (RJ)

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[WORKING PAPERS FROM THE CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND CHANGE IN EDUCATION.]

These papers were presented to a working group at the conference on "Social Deprivation and Change in Education" organised by the Nuffield Teacher Enquiry at the University of York in April 1972

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UD 012801

PROBLEMS IN THE INNER CITY

by

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Problems in the Inner City

J D McConaghy. Director - SNAP, Liverpool

Whatever Plowden may have had in mind, Educational Priority Areas are single remedies applied in areas where only a total approach will do. In this they differ not at all from all our whole armoury of intervention and our faltering steps towards positive discrimination. Not only are there compelling reasons for a comprehensive attack on the intractable problems of multiple deprivation but urban society, as a whole, has yet to realise that it negatively discriminates against whole cities. Before pushing the concept of positive discrimination still further into the model of Victorian charitable traditions it would be no bad thing if we stopped putting every barrier in the way of the urban poor.

"Self-help" is the message preached to the socially deprived as we continue to cut off their most essential services. As cities lose their economic viability mind expanding theories are promoted for those who remain starved of intellectual and financial capital. It is in the ghettos or urban society that educationalists challenge the conventional wisdom of literacy. Here is the happy hunting ground of middle class liberals whose brilliant challenge to the goals of our society are scarcely heard in those majority areas who alone possess political leverage and control resources.

The pioneer, the teacher, the advocate and the activist are allowed access to this laboratory on the tacit understanding that any activity must not result in any major shift of resources. And so instead of "development" we get "community development" and instead of schools we get "community schools". The old rule of "survey before plan" becomes "survey instead of plan" and as symptoms of depri= vation, such as crime and vandalism, assume exagerrated importance, remedies also shift from normal municipal programmes to the imposition of law and order.

Like pollution, the social disintegration of the inner city just happened without the public at large perceiving what was going on. Consequently, the real problems have never been understood, the machinery of recovery never forged and the necessary funds never allocated. Like pollution, our solutions may be too late and much too little.

At the same time public expenditure on social services and housing has risen dramatically over the years 1961 to 1970. In absolute amount, it has increased by 139.3%. As a proportion of the Gross National Product it has increased by 7%. But over the last five years, there has been a sharp increase of key indices of social problems and demands on social services have grown steadily. These demands are particularly intens in large cities and, within the cities, are highly concen- trated in a few inner areas.

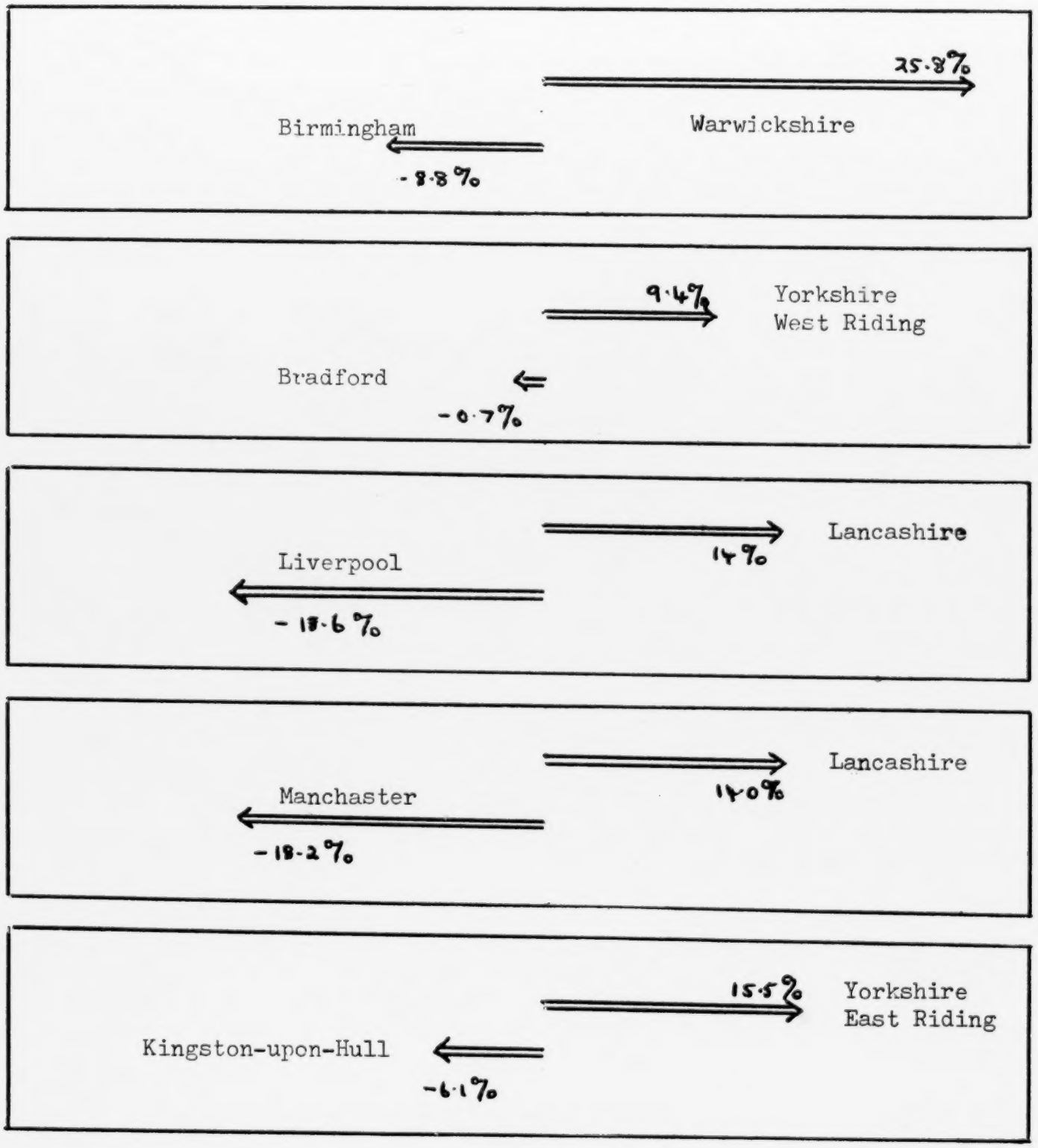
Cities are themselves finding it more difficult to manage these problems and are becoming economically unviable. Large cities are losing population to surrounding areas (Exhibit A). Managerial and professional people are increasingly moving outside cities (Exhibit B). Industry also is vacating the inner city and, as a consequence, resources are growing much more slowly than demands for and costs of services (Exhibit C).

In broad terms, rate support grants, public transport subsidies, urban motorways, redevelopment and overspill, new and expanded towns etc., are all ways in which we subsidise the suburban exodus. And it amounts to an enormous subsidy to accommodate existing trends. Trends which impoverish the inner city and create substantial enclaves of social deprivation.

EXHIBIT A

LARGE CITIES ARE LOSING POPULATION TO SURROUNDING COUNTIES .....

% Change 1961 - 1971

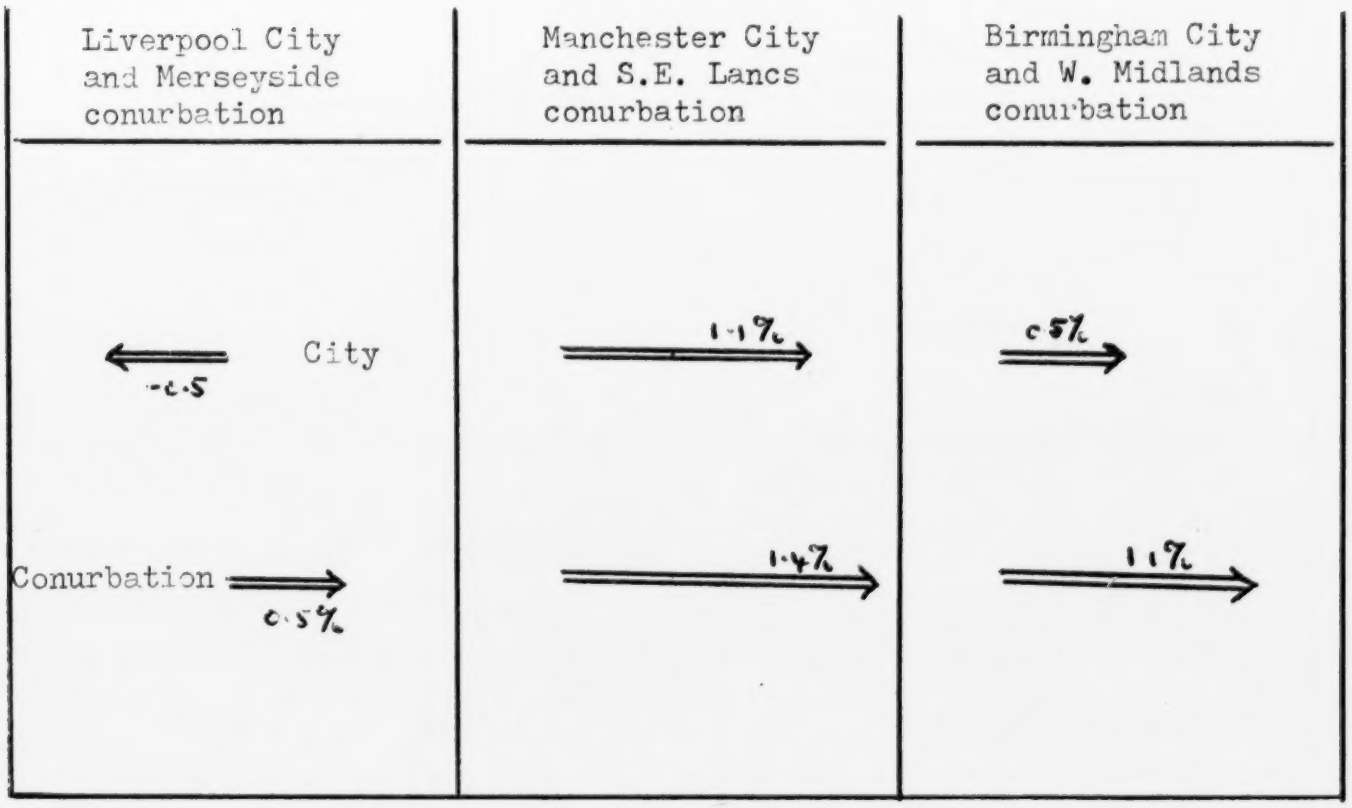


Source: 1971 Census Preliminary Report

EXHIBIT B

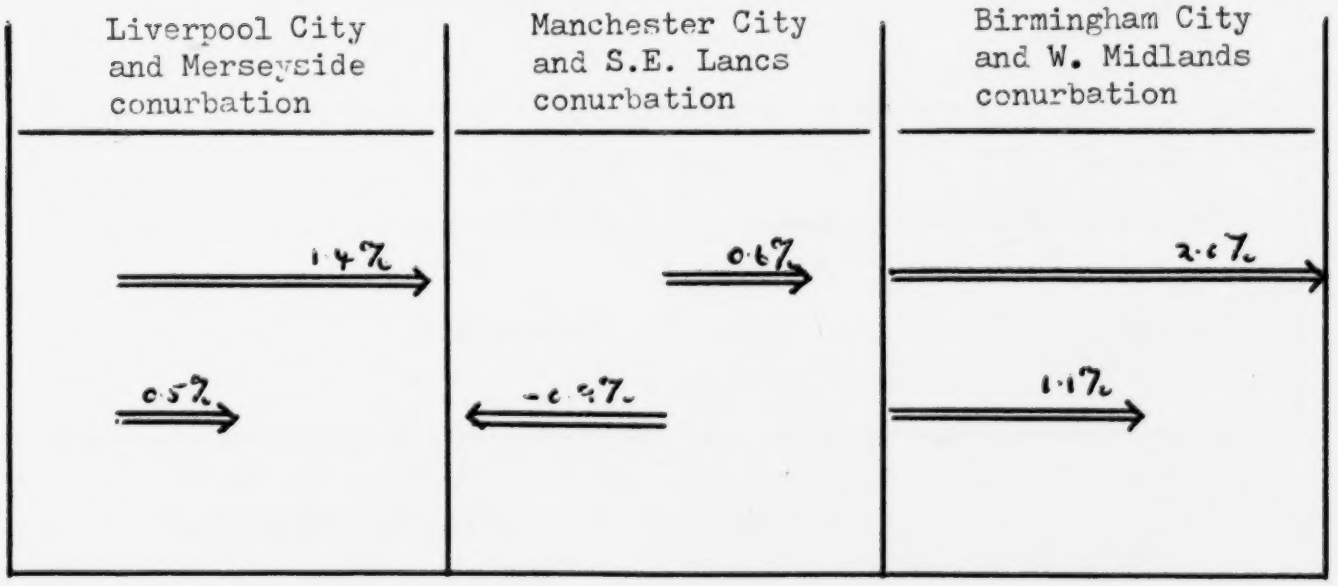
MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE ARE INCREASINGLY MOVING OUTSIDE CITIES .....

Managerial and professional jobs (% change 1961 - 1966)



..... LEAVING THEM WITH A HIGHER PROPORTION OF SEMI-SKILLED AND UNSKILLED PEOPLE .....

Semi-skilled and unskilled jobs (% change 1961 - 1966)

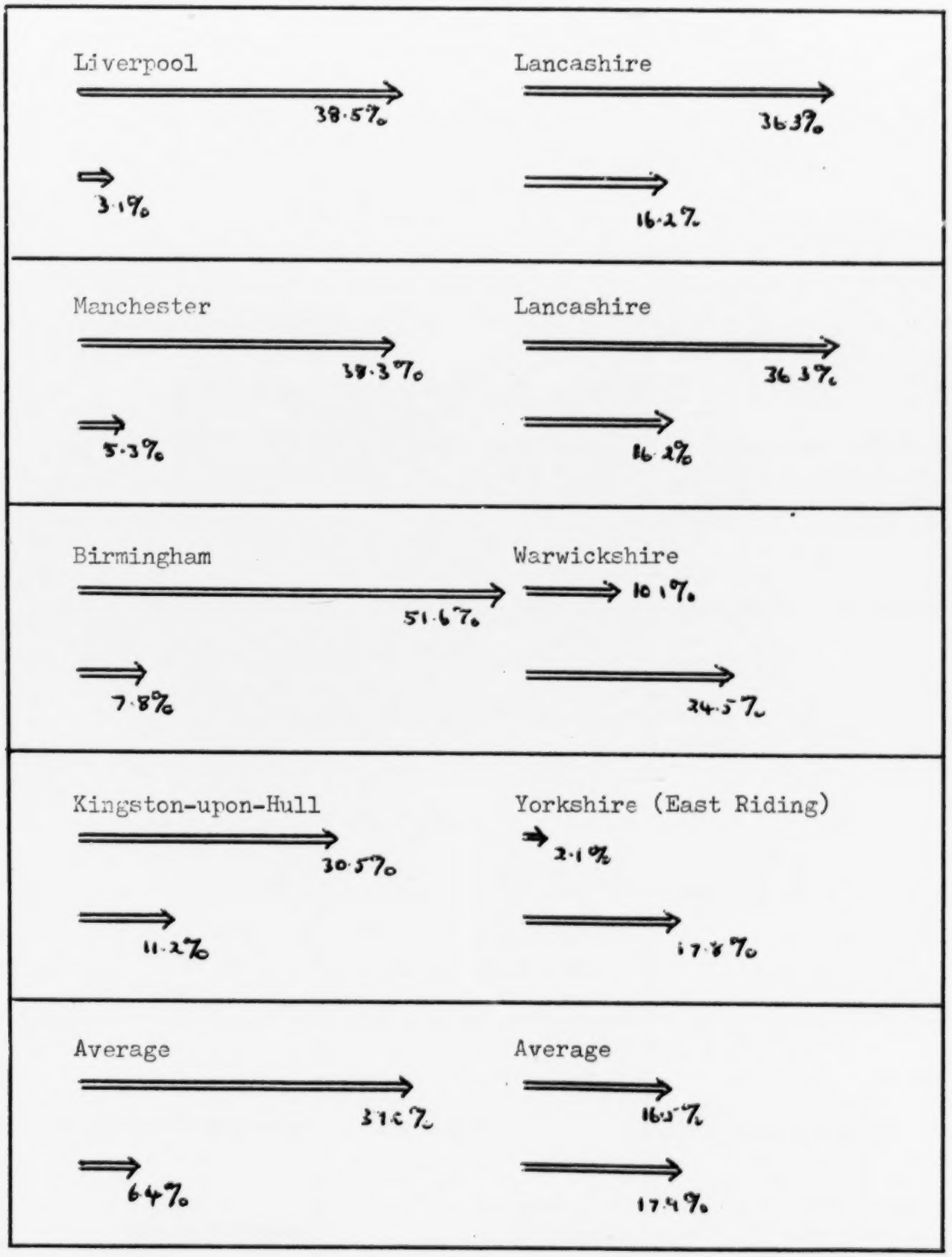


Source: 1966 Census

EXHIBIT C

COMPARED WITH SURROUNDING COUNTIES, FINANCIAL NEEDS OF MANY LARGE CITIES ARE GROWING FASTER THAN RATEABLE VALUES .....

% Increase 1966 - 1971



Source: Municipal Yearbook 1972 - Rates and Rateable Values in England and Wales

The middle mass of working population vote with their feet and they take with them their taxes, their skills and their political leverage. They are subsidised every step of the way by our urban policies which echo the policies pursued in almost every State in Western Europe and the United States. The limitations on workers in socially deprived areas are a measure of the force of these current trends and are not likely to be overcome by the "social glue" of community development. Indeed unless new political, financial and management initiatives are to appear, we could face a breakdown of civilised relationships and the possibility of real social conflict.

It is no accident that in Liverpool the keenest agency sponsoring new initiative is the constabulary, or at least its senior officers and chief constable. As one sergeant said at a conference: "Society pushes its problems into the dustbin and requires the policeman to sit on the lid". But it is quite unfair to delegate the "hot seat" to chief constables just as it is unfair to expect individual officers to remain unbrutalised where there is no matching dedication from other public agencies.

We must not be deceived or side-tracked: effective development of the community is the efficient management of the public sector. Community development is synonymous with city management. Where there are major community problems there you will find also problems of city management and of local and central government machinery. That is why the worst ghettos in the United States, and even in this country, are those where local government machinery is minimal and where there is a history of neglect.

The Unique Problem

Our enlightened welfare state is reasonably sensitised to individual problems of deprivation and we have urged our legislators to do something about it. But there is no general public awareness that each type of deprivation assumes an entirely new dimension and character when compounded in specific urban territories. In such areas the poverty problem is the housing problem, the education problem, the colour problem, the crime problem, the health problem and, in short, the urban problem.

The public is confused when the remedial effects of intervention in any single problem tend to be negated by the interactional demands of such areas. In fact, the public resents this seeming rejection of assistance and the only all-prevailing concept of multiple deprivation is still that of a sin committed by people who have proved themselves unable to consume the specialised goods and services offered to them by professional caretakers.

So our first job is to understand the inner city as a very unique and special problem of its own and to see its deterioration as a fundamental trend and process with quite global implications. Even the vast agrarian populations of Asia will be an urban society within a few generations and the rotten core of the whole thing will be these specific areas, special territories, where all the worst urban problems coincide. No political party and no politician in Europe or the United States can say that they have an urban policy - and that is to say, a social policy - while vast areas of our cities continue to grow worse.

The inner city is the final condemnation of our whole economy and whole culture. The American dream ends in Watts County, German affluence in the Lehel of Munich and British justice in the Shankyll and the Falls.

Political Initiative

To date no political party has really tried to get to grips with this unique problem and such areas are effectively disenfranchised. Since we are referring to cities, and therefore local government, electoral mathematics dictate that both socialists and conservatives will have regard to the majority of ratepayers. This simple matter has always exacerbated the downward spiral of inner areas and it has inhibited the initiative and level of attack required to face their intractable problems at source.

Certainly, as far as those people right at the bottom of the barrel are concerned, it really doesn't matter if they have a socialist or a conservative council. It doesn't matter if they have a labour or tory prime-minister, they will still be at the bottom of the barrel. As someone said, "It doesn't matter who you vote for, the government always gets in"!

Ad hoc representation serves as a convenient smokescreen. The advocates for the poor very usefully make as much noise as they can about bad conditions but nothing could be much further from reality than the notion that all such areas need are legions of hot-rod sociologists, architects or spell-binding activists to voice their hitherto unspoken requirements. Radical social activists eventually demand a quite unacceptable redistribution of power and resources and, while highlighting problems, such pressure lies permanently outside the political process or its insensate machinery. Administrative social activists like those employed by local authorities favour a gradualist approach and aim for a smooth running game which inevitably favours the more powerful. The activity can be compared with basket-weaving as a type of social therapy and tends to be ignored by minority groups and the really under-privileged.

The reform of local government will produce larger and more powerful local authorities but the central problems of minority areas may be as far away as ever from the priorities of the top politicians who will run the new authorities. Neighbourhood Councils may provide useful forums but middle class neighbourhood councils will get most of the cake as usual. Participation in the public planning of such areas must be seen as P.R. rhetoric when planning is understood as programmes of meaningful events, all of which must be paid for, shapred and ordered by bureaucracies not themselves dedicated to problem solving in minority areas. Participation yes, but participate in what? Self-help yes, but help myself to what?

To be positive, we must find a coherent way to involve top politicians in areas which themselves provide little electoral advantage. Only then will the resources and detailed management solutions follow.

Management.

The local government machine just evolved and its task was primarily administrative. Traditional functional departments multiplied together with the difficulties of lateral communications between them. As far as the vast majority of the electorate in the wider city area is concerned, things tick over reasonably well and problems of co-ordination are simply not a burning issue to the average suburban commuter.

The situation is radically different in the inner city where to solve one problem is but to succumb to another. Tasks are emphatically developmental rather than administrative and the case for project-orientated management structures is overwhelming if chaos, waste and frustration are to be avoided.

As it is one department will operate inefficiently for the want of involvement of another at the right time and, in the end, may solve one problem at the expense of creating several others. It is no accident that many local housing managers, teachers and other public servants become brutalised if the alternative is to go insane.

Our management structure in cities is generally based on the myth that there is some elite business core which dominates their growth and decision-making institutions. In the last century this was certainly the case but now industrial or financial authority in the city is the local branch manager operating as a corporate bureaucrat in increasingly complex industrial complexes. No longer can the city "follow along behind", merely administrating what is going on. The city is now in the real-estate business, in the employment business and most of all, the city is in the community business or the city is not in business at all !

It is no longer possible to hold up the simple image of the town baron for the poor to emulate and send in the welfare agencies and charities for those that haven't got the moral fibre to aspire. These days the baby born in an urban slum is simply not a potential president or prime-minister. The implied social mobility of the Victorian city is now as anachronistic as that city's management and charitable traditions. Distasteful or not, positive social planning is now the final and most important function of city management.

Resources.

Supplementary financial resource is needed to inspire real initiative and to ensure both management dedication and flexibility. For obvious reasons this must lie outside the fiscal competance of local government and the burden on the ratepayer must be relieved. Already successive governments have dissapated many millions of pounds in the Urban Aid Programme as the "Times" pointed out, through the lack of "any coherent strategy" and the lack of any "combined approach to the multiple problems of particular localities".

The previous labour government initiated the Community Development Projects but because the Home Office did not accept as "a priori" case for resource handling agencies, even as a basis of research, their directors will be in a difficult position as they attempt a level of co-ordination found impossible by departmental chief officers. Moreover, the urban programme does not deal with physical redevelopment and Community Development Projects are seen primarily as polishing up delivery systems in social services. In Liverpool there is a CDP which is outside the large Educational priority area, where most of the residents are local authority tenants and where the population is predominantly white!

The taxpayer has lavished money on new town development corporations which, if they were to bear the social costs they incur in the problem areas of deprivation, could show a short fall of debt charges even after 15 years. It is time that the problem areas themselves got a bit of these large budgets. It is time we went in there and spent it where the problems actually occur.

A Way Forward

Jack Dyckman once said that the dilemma for social planning was clearly not "bureaucracy or grass roots" but "what bureaucracy"? Both militancy and complacency have obscured the need to fashion and fund new machinery which will be able to combine political, management and financial resource for a vital new initiative. The rationalisation of social policies must be coherently conceived both at the local level and at Whitehall and this should be a first priority of the Central Policy Review Unit at the Cabinet Office.

Historically, the inner areas of our cities functioned as "educators" through which the under-privileged minority and ethnic groups passed outward and upwards to enjoy the economic opportunities of the wider community. This process stopped with the "twilight trap" where the urban poor became concentrated together, unable to escape. The dreadful decline of these areas must be halted, their misery alleviated and their historic role as educators reasserted.

Possibly we need to expand the basic concept of educational priority areas now to every facet of local and central government policies within districts of the city. We must seek a methodology of preparing local plans under the 1968 and 1971 Planning Acts and merge the potential of statutory and corporate planning with coherent district management and simplified procedures for local authority departments and other agencies. In this way it is not difficult to forsee a more relevant bureaucracy dealing with programmes of meaningful events which tackle the most outstanding deprivations of districts in a unified way. It is possible to see all public action in terms of such multi-lateral programmes which can then involve more fully the mass of the population and be shaped by them to meet their needs.

Can local government now or in 1974 face up to this task? Can local government ever become dedicated, in a management sense, to the unique problems of deprived areas? Can local government as an institution become innovative as problems change and as new solutions evolve? I think not, unless we can conceive an Urban Programme which will perpetually stimulate local government to this end.

This also is perfectly possible, but not without an adequate pilot programme. Here some of the Community Development Projects have been moving in the right direction and there is the immediate opportunity to build on their experience. But urgency is vital because other substantial pilot projects are required to allow discussions on a new Urban Programme with the new permanent constitutional authorities in 1974.

For this purpose, therefore, adequate pilot studies mean those authorities who would be willing to co-operate wholeheartedly in (a) a government-financed programme focused exclusively on the areas where problems are concentrated - usually a few words in the inner areas of our older cities (b) the integration in this programme of the community development and self-help approaches and substantial programmes and services such as housing, environmental health, social services, education and employment (c) an organisation - within the local authority framework, to avoid it being strangled at birth - that can carry out such an integrated programme, co-ordinating all relevant services and influencing the deployment of resources.

For this purpose adequate pilot studies must not be designed and conceived to avoid the issue of the 100% supplementary resources which such areas simply must have.

So let us be clear now and do not deceive ourselves any longer that resource is at the heart of this problem and the decline of the inner areas of our cities is the failure of management and of government. We look for Fenians and Orangemen under the bed in Belfast: true this has become an ethnic struggle to a major extent. But the real trouble there is really no more than 50 years of mismanagement of resources in the public sector. Community Relations Councils and cheques for anti-vandal committees are all red-herrings. The social disintegration implicit in Watts County, L'pool 8, N Kensington, the Lehel of Munich, Brussels, Belfast, and all the inner areas of Western Europe amounts to no more than the mindless mismanagement of our urban affairs.

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THE SCHOOL AND CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

by

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NAPLES

THE SCHOOL AND CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

My analysis is naturally restricted to the Italian context: that does not exclude the possibility that this analysis could serve for a wider context, or as a point of departure for a wider discussion. The contribution of the other members of the group is two-fold.

1) to consider if this analysis, although restricted to the Italian context, is correct.

2) to compare this analysis with other analyses restricted to individual countries and to attempt a wider analysis.

What trends have been revealed in the Italian school in the century following the Unification of Italy, and in the period following the last world war?

I A progressive increase in investment in the sector of Public Education at all levels of the scholastic process. (See Tables 1 and 11)

II Investment per head progressively proportional to the level of education. (See Table III)

The fall-off in 1920 and 1940 is tightly linked with the first and second world wars.

Not having the relevant data for the period 1940-1951 I do not know how far this fall-off reached after 1940, in order to consider if the budget of 1951, relevant to the University, represented the end of the fall-off or a renewal which had begun previously.

The data relevant to the University in 1969 explains in effect the troubles in the University in 1968 and uncertainty is still much in evidence regarding University reform. It is certain, however, that in the Project 1980 (see note 1) the actual University population is forecasted to double. (from 500,000 to a million)

III The greatest investment is at the level of compulsory schooling - Primary and Junior High School. (Scuola Media is equivalent to the Junior High School in the English comprehensive system) See Tables I and II.

IV The process of selection is at its greatest at the level of the compulsory school. (See Tables IV and V to IX)

A comparison between the enrolments for primary school and those for Junior High and between Junior High and Senior High makes this assumption clearer. This can be verified further by comparing the enrolments of the Primary School of 1962-63 with those of the Junior High for 1967-68 and comparing the enrolment of the Junior High 1962-63 with those of the Senior High for 1967-68.

At the same time the pheneomenon of those children behind and those repeating the year is not shown and these increase considerably the number of selections of the compulsory school.

A more detailed analysis relevant to the pupils born in 1950-51-52 whose scholastic results have been followed up for the complete period of compulsory schooling, carried out by the school of Barbiana (2), show sufficiently the weight of this selection. (See Tables X - XII)

In fact from those born in 1950-51-52, attending the first primary class in 1956-57-58 and the first secondary school class in 1961-62-63, 505,000 were excluded at the primary level in 1950 (1,050,000 - 664,000 - 119,000 (those repeating classes who then belong to a stream of different age), in 1951 389,000 (958,000 - 668,000 - 99,000) and in 1952, 399,000 pupils (897,000 - 716,000 - 146,000), and at the Junior High level in 1950, 249,000 (664,000 - 438,000), in 1951 232,000 (668,000 - 459,000) in 1952, 273,000 pupils (716,000 - 472,000).

In effect, of those born in 1950-51-52 and enrolled for the first primary class in 1956-57-58, 879,000, 835,000 766,000 pupils of the 1,050,000, 958,000 and 897,000 enrolled, actually arrived at the Junior High School

certificate level. (After 3 years secondary school). The situation, however, at the primary level has improved a great deal in the last few years (3), whilst at the level of the Junior High certificate it has remained still at about 60% average from the contemporary age group.

The Project 80 still foresees as the rate of attendance - 100% for the Primary School and 95% for the Junior High School.

V Extension of the school-leaving age.

Casati's law passed in 1859, restricted to Piedmont, made education compulsory to the age of 8.

In 1877 Coppino's law formally extended Casati's law to all national territory and compulsory education was extended to the age of 9.

With Orlando's law in 1904, compulsory education was raised to 12 years of age. With Gentile's law of 1923 compulsory education was extended to 14. This last law was not applied for reasons connected with the social-economic development of the country and the financial incapability of the local authorities on whom the burden of this instruction fell. Only with the law (31st Dec. 1962) no. 1859, making the school compulsory and providing free instruction to the age of 14, was it put into operation. Pressure in high places is now being brought to bear to extend compulsory education to 16 years of age. (5)

VI The tendency towards unification of the school curriculum, prior to University.

One of the essential characteristics of Casati's law and Gentile's law was based on a cultural dichotomy between scholastic training of the humanistic type and that of the technical type. The primary level was the natural destiny of the working classes. Following this came a branching-off into two different sectors; the humanstic served for the formation of the ruling

classes and the technical served to qualify those who would assume executive positions and low and middle 'white-collar' occupations. (See fig. 1 & 2) In the technical sector, save for a few exceptions, entry to University was practically prohibited. (See fig 2).

In 1940, the lower level courses of theClassics High School, the Technical and Teacher-Training Institute were unified. (See Figure 3).

With the law passed on the 31st Dec. 1962 - No. 1859, the Junior High School was fused with the introductory Professional School. Between 1961-66 greater possibilities for University were offered to those with diplomas from the Technical Institutes. (See Figure 4).

With the law passed on the 27th October 1969 - No. 754, special, integrated courses became possible at professional institutes to reach the level of Senior High School and through this, entry to University.

With the law passed on the 11th December 1969 - No. 910, the link between University and all Senior High Schools with a curriculum of 5 and 4 years, (the latter, if followed by a suitable one year course) was completed. As is clear, the process of unification happened in both senses: from the top to the bottom, and from the bottom to the top. Pressure in high places exists now to institute a single two-year course following Junior High School and part of compulsory education. (6) The Governmental structure seems sensitive to this pressure. (7) Symptomatic is the pushing forward of Project 80 which considers the first two years course of Senior High School as already an established fact.

VII The absorption of the cost of education at the expense of the Central Government.

With Casati's law of 1856, two 2-year courses for the primary school were instituted of which the first was obligatory and at the expense of only those local authorities who had 50 children of school age, and the second also obligatory and at the expense of only those authorities with more than 4,000 inhabitants and where secondary schools existed.

This law was not put into effect, because the majority of the local authorities, especially the smaller ones, could not support this financial burden.

With the law Danneo-Credaro in 1911, primary education of local authorities in those towns, not the principle ones of the provinces, became the responsibility of the State.

With Gentile's law of 1923, compulsory education consisted of five classes of primary school, as well as three classes post-primary of introductory professional training.

After this law, the responsibility of post-primary education was added to that of primary education in the chief towns of the provinces. These towns succeeded in part to support obligatory primary school, but did not succeed in supporting this extra obligation.

With the Royal Decree of July 1st 1933 - No. 786, all the primary and post-primary schools which were the responsibility of the chief towns, passed equally to be the responsibility of the State.

With the law of Dec. 31st 1962 - No. 1859, all the pre-existing Junior High Schools, the introductory Professional Training Schools, the lower classes of Schools and Institutes of Art and Conservatories of Music, not to mention every other Junior High School, were brought together to make one Junior High School, the responsibility of the State.

Tables XIII and XIV clearly show the progressive involvement of public funds in the budget of Public Education.

From 1947 some provinces, with a more autonomous constitution in relation to the Central Government, (Val d'Aosta, Sardinia, Sicily), have acquired greater power over the application of government policy at the local level, and in finances relative to public education. That, however, does not exclude the intervention of the State in educational expenses.

This is shown more clearly in an analysis of Table XIV, where the contribution of the State is distinct from that of the Ministry of Education, because a part of the financial responsibility of the local authorities is in reality the responsibility of the State Budget.

The same table shows the incidence of the cost of education on the State Budget and on the Net National Revenue.

VIII Progressive increase in women teachers in obligatory schools. (Table XV) (8)

From this table it is clear that the total number of women teachers is on the increase. The decrease in teachers not officially enrolled (insegnanti non di ruolo) and of teachers in private secondary schools clearly demonstrates the impact of the reform of 1962 in the Junior High School.

Whilst the first decrease refers to the re-organisation of State schools and is resolved practically in a movement of teachers not enrolled to becoming teachers enrolled, the decrease in the private sector expresses the increase in "social esteem" of the State school in this section of education after the reforms of '62.

IX Growing "proletarianisation" of the teachers in primary schools. "Proletarianisation" understood in two senses: proletarianisation as a condition, and as class consciousness.

If we understand "proletarianisation" as a social condition in the sense that the origin of the majority of primary school teachers is that of the working classes, it is made clear in the analysis of Table XVI and XX. In fact Table XVI shows how the presence of working-class youngsters at Senior High level is gradually increasing, and shows how, in parallel, the presence of youngsters of the wealthier classes is on the decline.

If we concentrate our interest on the analysis of Table XVII, XVIII and XIX, relative to the section on Teacher-Training Institutes, from which the primary school teachers come, the contribution of the working classes in this section of education is very consistent.

If we compare Table XVIII which refers to youngsters receiving the Junior High Certificated in 1967, with Table XVII which refers to the enrolments of 1969-70 and cross-reference with Table XIX, we notice that the Teacher-Training Institutes are in decline in social esteem (9), but that in parallel, the presence of children of the working classes in these Institutes is on the increase.

Another indirect proof of the decline of social esteem regarding the Teacher Training Institutes, is precisely the growth in numbers of women teachers in the sector of compulsory education.

If by "proletarianisation" we mean the process of social identification with the working class, the matter becomes difficult. Statistics regarding this do not exist to give us a hand.

First of all, the South is distinct from the rest of the country. In the South (See Table XX), the Teacher-Training Institute is on the increase, (in the Basilicata, which can be considered the most depressed area of the country, the percentage has risen to 33.1%)

This precisely explains the fact that the Teacher Training Institute is considered by the relatively higher classes as a make-shift school for the less-bright, whilst for the working classes it is considered as necessary as a mechanism of social mobility. (10)

The fact that in the South a weighty process of selection takes place at the primary level explains clearly why the primary school teachers in the South, in order to make this social gap which exists between manual and intellectual work use this one instrument that they have, (selection) in order to separate themselves from the more marginal classes. The selection itself represents almost psycho-analytically, a psychological instrument to free oneself from the trauma experienced, at just that moment when the social rise is attempted.

In the North the situation is completely different. There the capital through trade and industry has no need of a heavy selective process at the level of compulsory education, but rather of a school for the masses as the natural preparation for a superior level of education: education certainly more functional for trade and industry.

At the same time the subordinate social levels no longer keep the Teacher Training Institute as a qualifying element for social mobility. This explains why, in the North, the teachers in the compulsory schools have arrived at an awareness of their "proletarianisation" more quickly. The work presents itself to them no longer as qualified from a social point of view, but rather alienating, not free, bureaucratic and automated.

the majority of the movements among teachers for a different school, alternative in didactics and values, have been verified there in the North.

Expansion of the technical sector. Table XXI - XXIII.

Among those enrolled at the Senior High School, the average yearly increase is continually rising (1959-64 - about 70,000 units per year, 1964-69 - more than 91,000 units per year). The same is true of the Technical Institutes in general, (1959-64 about 30,000 units p.a. 1964-69 - about 37,500 units p.a.) However, the Industrial Technical Institutes present a curve downwards from 1965-66 onwards, certainly linked with the Italian economic recession.

An effective decrease of diplomas awarded in the Technical Institutes should therefore be verified in 1969-70.

In the Science High School, a significant jump ahead has been registered instead. The enrollments for the school year 1961 - 62 from 19,161 pass to 60,230 in 1968-69 and those with certificates from 1960-61 to 1967-68 have almost doubled.

XI Lack of expansion in Professional Training Sector (Table XXI-XXII)

Whilst in the period 1959-64, the average increase in enrolments is 20,578 per year, in the period 1964-69 this average fell to 6,339. An increase in enrolments has taken place in the last 2 years (See Table XXII) especially 1968-69; however, the percentage in respect to the total of all enrolments for the first year of secondary school, represents 23% whilst in 1961-62, it was 25.7% of the same total.

In conclusion to this brief examination of data, more than a few contradictions can been seen to exist in the Italian School system: the principle ones are summarised as follows:-

1) Education for all: a rise in the school-leaving age, but a persistent selective process at this level of education.

2) Expansion of education for all, but the beginning of a decline in the Teacher Training sector, necessary for this education.

3) Decline in the professional training sector, which according to the ideas of the programmers of the Italian political economy, should be formed the greater part of the qualified labour force, necessary for the structural changes in the Italian economy.

4) The excess, according to the true needs of the market, of the young people with diplomas from Technical Institutes, who ought, instead, to have replenished the intermediary technical and administrative staff.

In reality, the Italian school is revealed as a pachyderm, slow to change, structurely outdated, still anchored to the philosophy of Gentile's reforms, which reflected the Italian social-economic situation of 50 years ago and incapable of coping with the new social-economic situation in Italy. The answer to these deficiencies in the Italian School which the political streams of the Italian Centre-Left are giving are the necessity, on the one hand to re-stabilise the Italian economy, strengthening the industrialisation of the South, and on the other, reconstruct the school, by modern methods, removing all the useless embellishments and unifying as much as possible the school curriculum prior to University. A basic education to a higher level, needs to be created, a more flexible education however, more adaptable to the different needs and necessities of Italian production, and a greater absorption of people into manual work at the ower scholastic level, in order to provide the right flow (with no excess), of intermediate semi-skilled staff necessary for trade and industry.

Different opinions express the current ideas of the ex-parlementary Left who have concentrated a particular interest in the relationship school/ Italian capitalist development. I will explain here, in brief, the conclusions they have drawn, leaving the reader to carry out the relevant research for supporting data (12).

The conclusions given by the ex-parlementary Left to explain the irregular development of the Italian school are as follows :-

1) The presence of youngsters of the working-class and peasantry in the Senior High School (and in particular in the Industrial Technical Institutes and the Teacher-Training Institutes) has a certain consistency.

2) This kind of school presents major difficulties for the professional market.

3) These difficulties are directly proportional to the distance from centres of industrial development.

4) Those awarded diplomas from the Senior High do not figure as unemployed because the majority enrol at the University in order to defer the problem of finding an occupation. In fact the analysis of data on employment for the age range 14 - 29, shows that the number of those employed has decreased by 1,108,000 units, and that at the same time, for the same age range, unemployment has also decreased.

5) The school in the next few years will be maintaining outside the labour market a consistent quota of potential labour force in order not tc create a situation which would put pressure on the labour market. The working Italian population is on the decrease. In fact, we have moved from 43.5% in 1951 to 36.5% in 1969. However, according to the programmers of Project 80 the future is not so rosy. They have formulated 3 variants of development, the first (V) with a development rate from the State Income of 5% would bring employment to 19,500,000 people which, considering the increase of population at that time, would lower the active working population to 33.5%.

5) (Continued)

The second variant (VI) with a development rate of 6% would bring employment to 21,385,000 units, with the percentage of active working population at 37%.

The third variant (VII) would raise employment to 21,960,000 with a greater percentage of active working population.

However, according to the programmers of the Plan, the two last variants although "satisfactory", imply a high rate of development and full use of resources, superior in each case to present tendencies.

That means that the employment situation in the next 10 years will be grave and in this context the function of "parking" of the school becomes important for the total economic equilibrium and social peace.

6) The connection between development and under-development still guarantees the reproduction of "the army of reserves" as a potential migratory labour force (from the country to the city, from the South to the North, from Italy to Common Market Countries). Therefore a prolonged school attendance also serves as a regulating mechanism for the flow of "liberated" man power in the development - under-development process. It is not by chance that the South has a greater rate of attendance at Senior High School, because only at that level is the social rise believed possible for the few "liberated", leaving behind the majority of unqualified. Even this rise in society is, in reality, illusory.

7) The subsequent task of this school would be that of ensuring a basic form of education which should not be specifically technical, but capable of creating maximum mobility (horizontal)

7) (Continued)

and adaptability of the labour force (formation of cultural uniformity, mass conformism, mental elasticity and adaptability to change, as well as co-operation at a subordinate level).

8) The selective mechanism in existence in the schools today tends to become modified through forms of selection included in the internal structure of the school system.

At primary level at its total extension as foreseen at 100% in Project 80, the incidence of special and differential classes will be broadened, with the consequence that social-cultural discrimination will be institutionalised on pseudo-scientific and mass welfare bases. At the secondary level, the mechanism selection-expulsion will work in the same way. In the Technical Institutes failures will not be produced by exam. results, but during the course. At University level some new hierarchies will be invented, connection with different types of qualification, to operate a further selection.

In effect, selection will operate continually, but on the wider scale of prolonged attendance at school/University.

9) The actual expansion of the school for the masses in Italy represents "a growth without development" of an institution largely a parasite, which as it grows reproduces itself (60% of University graduates in Italy flow back into the school) (14) and in which inefficiency, the waste of time and the under-employment of mental and physical energies of the educated masses are not considered "pathological" elements, because for the school, basic training is only one of its functions. Its other functions, already pointed out, institutionalise the waste - a natural law in a mature capitalism.

10) In conclusion "longer school" as a phenomenen of the mass comes as a burden for working classes - directly because it encourages keeping the younger elements of the family in school, unproductive and at the cost of further expense, and indirectly since the rising cost of education is met by subsequent taxes on the same working classes; functioning as "parking" for the unemployed labour force removes for the time, the problem of unemployment, but does not resolve it, because over a longer period, the mass of unemployed will increase; the "longer school" will exaggerate the social division of "intellectual" and "manual" work, between programme planning and execution, will produce again the roles between directors and subordinates, and through the illusion of social promotion, the more gifted elements of the working class will be integrated, equally well, into work which, in the end, is still of a dependent and subordinate nature.

The 'training' and 'production' become in this way two separate, divided, moments (the school as a 'separate institution' from the 'place of work' and as a place where a socially unproductive training takes place as an extension of childhood dependence).

At the same time the best basic training will not be evaluated in a work relationship, will not be capitalised for the benefit of the worker, but being a type of training common to all, and of a medium level, in practice will be asked for as a normal condition in the work relationship and therefore its value will be practically zero.

This kind of school which emphasises the difference between intellectual and manual work through its training will, in fact, in the immediate future restrain the growing up of an aggregation of the working class, but over a longer period will reveal its internal contradiction, which then cannot be resolved through an intense horizontal mobility as now.

Does this last analysis, even if only a summary, seem enough to justify the contradiction existing now in the Italian school?

Does a 'plan' exist in Italian capitalism for the school?

Isn't it rather that the Italian school has developed in the last 20 years under the impulse of objective social factors, as a "separate body", following a logic which is, in effect, illogical to the development of Italian capitalism?

What basic reasons determined the Italian recession of 1963-64? What did the Italian entry into the Common Market bring about in the school?

Can the school be considered still as geared structurally to the Italian economic boom, whilst now Italian capitalism in respect to the European market is in search of greater space for expansion, is in the phase of rationalising its internal structure in order to try to be more competitive?

How would the school be able to adapt quickly to necessities which are not even clear to Italian capitalism itself? What level of subordination will the Italian capitalism acquire in respect to European capitalism?

If the subordination is heavier than foreseen, doesn't it seem that the Italian school with all its contradictions is, in spite of itself, more "functional" to Italian capitalism than had been foreseen?

I will explain: it is evidence that in the present state of things, the Italian school produces a heavy selection process at the primary level in the South of Italy; in the economically depressed classes. That this process should decrease seems only slightly probable; that this form of selection will occur in the future with mechanism already used and expanding (differential and special school) is however probable, but selection will remain. If we consider the fact that emigration from the South of Italy to Europe is a constant phenomenon, and thinking about Germany alone (15) as far back as 1955 - the year in which this country began to absorb foreign labourers (it is an interesting coincidence that this, in fact, meant Italians) there were 80,000 people and at the end of September 1971 there were 2,240,793 people (16) of which 550,503 were Italians. Isn't it a significant coincidence that whilst the Italian economic programmers (Project 80) foresee in 1980 a decrease in the active working population to a level almost the same as the actual level of employment in Southern Italy alone, the German programmers recognise the need to absorb foreign labourers in 1985 from 2.2 to 2.8 million people?

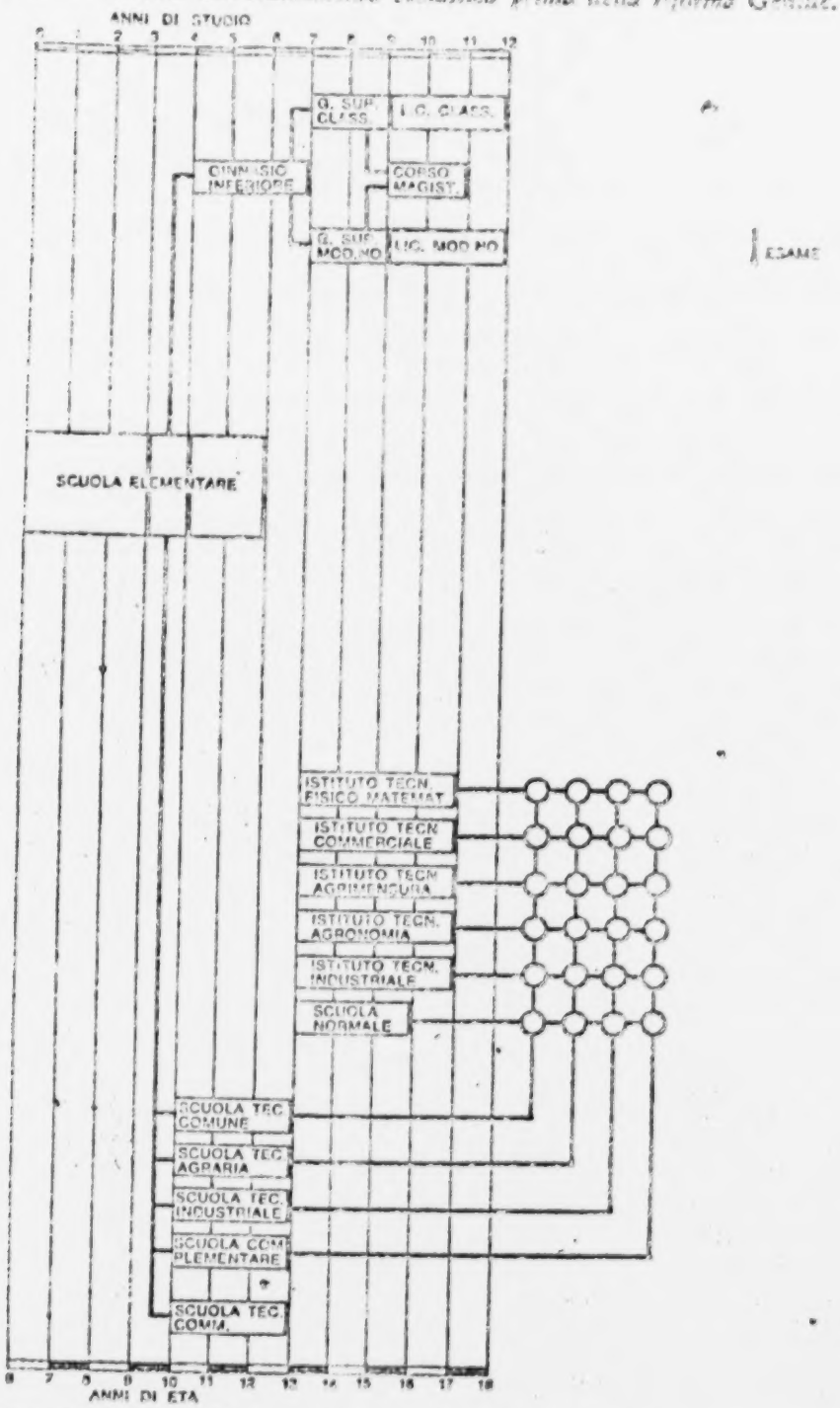
What weight will the fact that equal professional qualifications may be accepted throughout Europe have on the Italian school? If this variable, not foreseen by the ex-parlementary Left, should intervene, the Italian school would cease to have the "parking" function, but would be already "integrated" at a European level faster than foreseen.

The day in which a major economic integration takes place in Europe, the idea that people trained in one country must necessarily work in that country, will have much less significance to European capitalism than that today.

Is the "longer school" necessarily a "parking area" fro a mature capitalism, if in the case of the German capitalism, certainly more mature than that Italian, the "longer school" comes to be considered one of the causes of the necessity to absorb labourers from abroad? (17) Have the troubles caused by the German apprentices, which have been going on in the last two years, revealed enough to help us understand more clearly what we are insinuating?

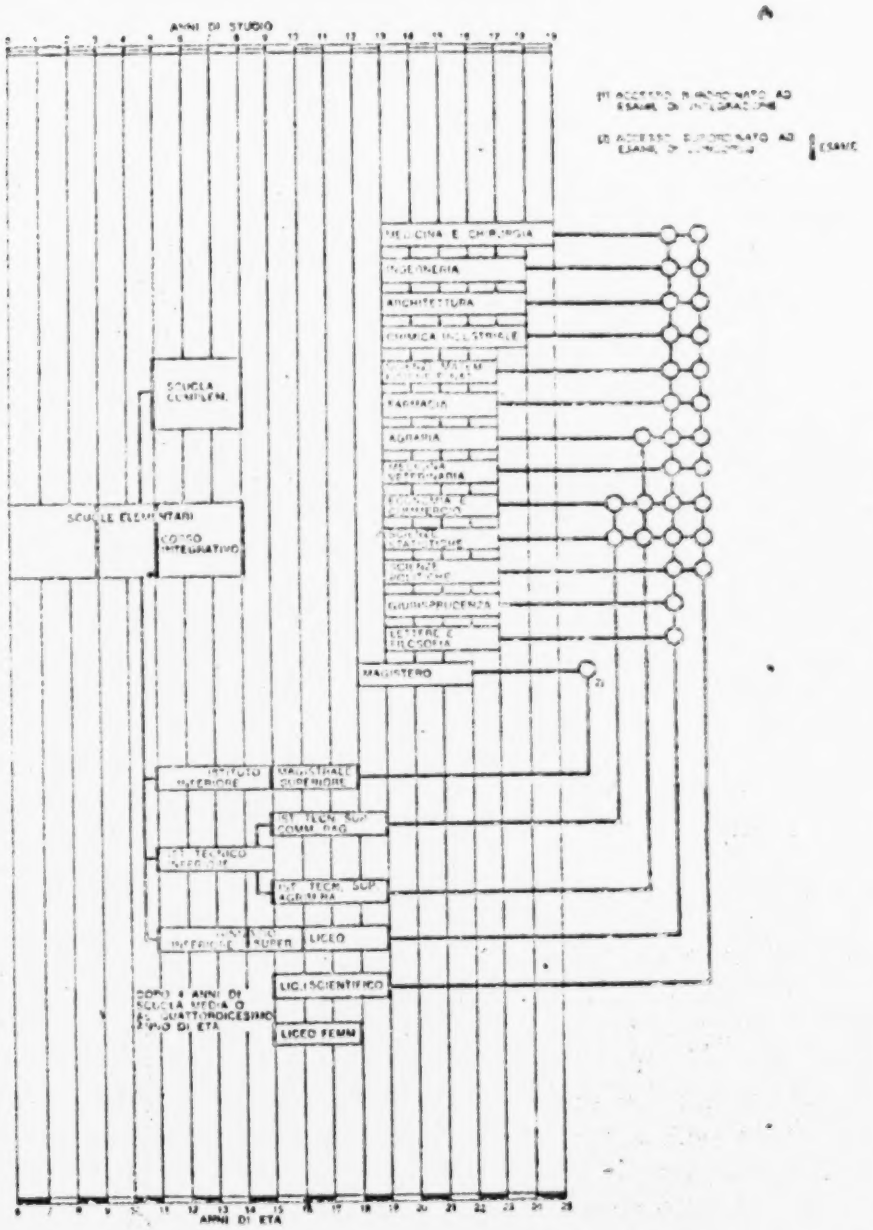
It is symptomatic that they are asking for a school, but a more serious school, more clearly and closely allied to their lives and their work; a school not organised by employers but conducted by they themselves as the best solution; or at least by the State as the Trade Unions suggest. On this question and the others, I would like to hear your opinions.

FIG. 1 - *Schema dell'ordinamento scolastico prima della riforma Gentile.*



Fonte: Ministero dell'educazione nazionale, *Dalla riforma Gentile alla Carta della scuola*, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1941.

FIG. 2 - *Schema dell'ordinamento scolastico secondo la riforma Gentile.*



Fonte: Ministero dell'educazione nazionale, *Dalla riforma Gentile alla Carta della scuola*, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1941.

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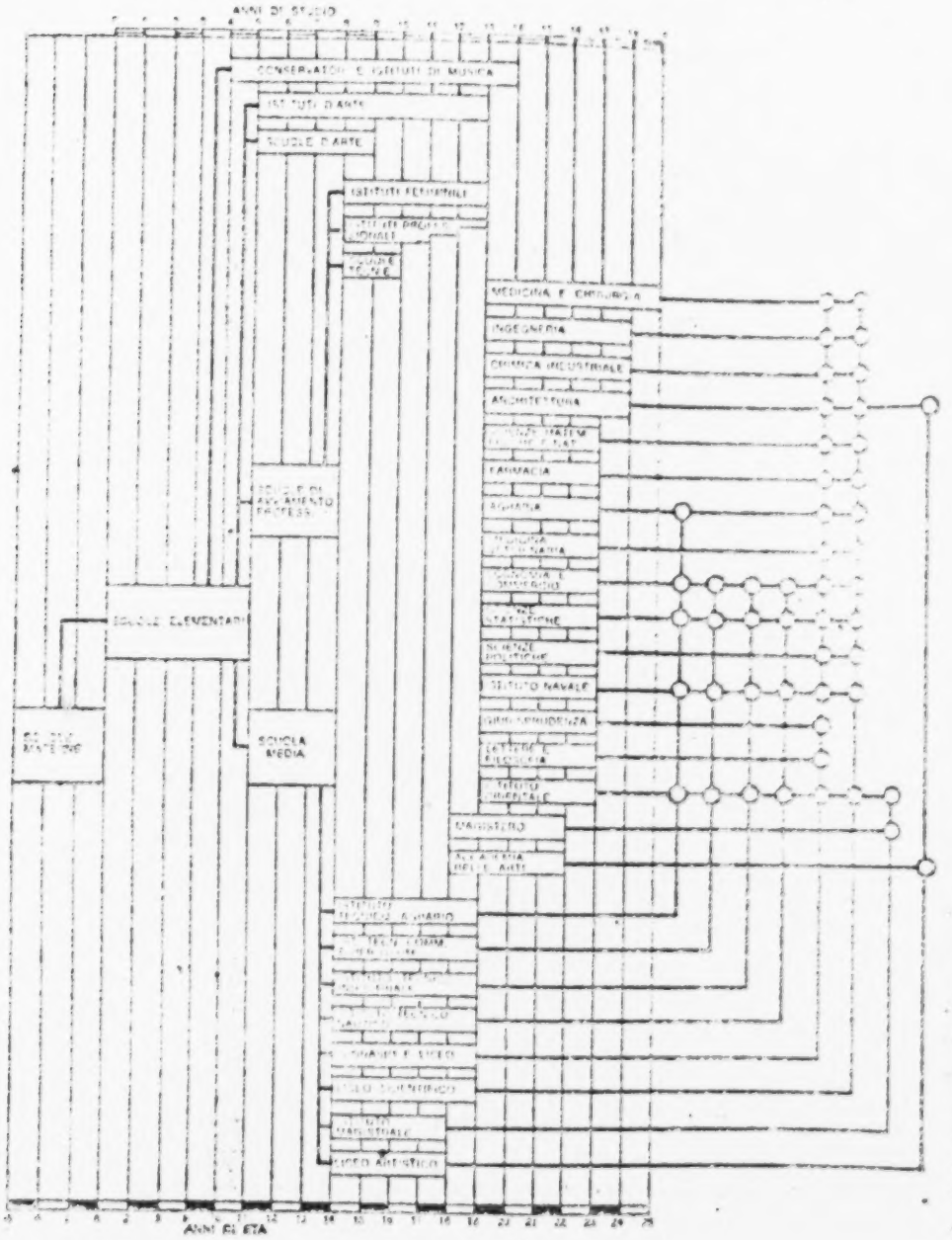
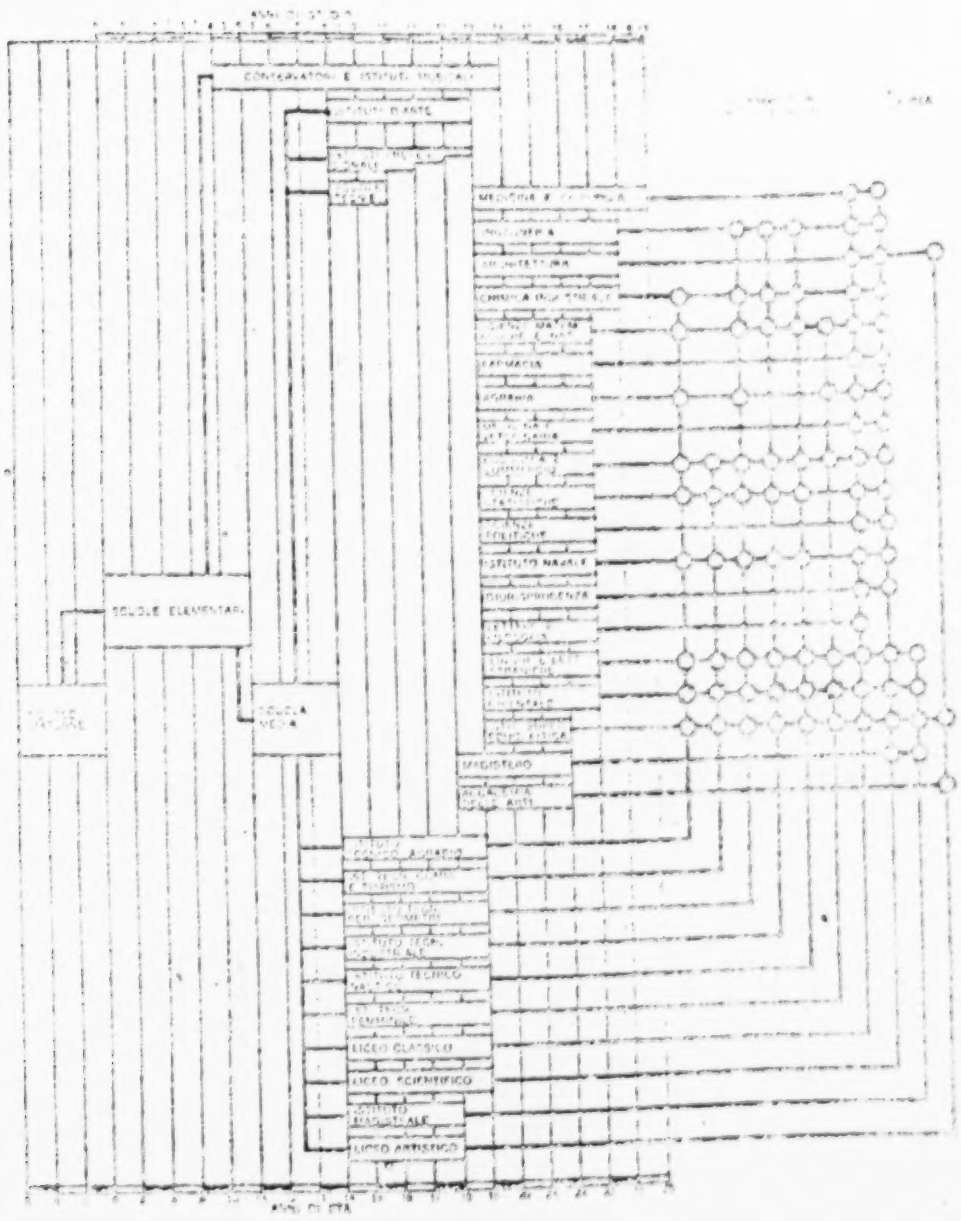
FIG. 3 - *Schema dell'ordinamento scolastico nel secondo dopoguerra*



Fonte: ISTAT, ***Annuario statistico dell'istruzione italiana, 1959***. Roma, 1959.

FIG. A - *Schema dell'ordinamento scolastico nel 1967*



Fonte: ISTAT, *Annuario statistico dell'istruzione italiana*, 1969, Roma, 1969.

T A B L E I

YEAR	ELEMENTARI (primary)	MEDIA INF. (junior high)	MEDIA SUP. (senior high)	UNIVERSITA'	
1900	27,091	7,853	5,555	5,339	45,838
1910	49,802	11,581	8,680	8,823	78,886
1920	68,166	10,298	8,873	4,464	91,801
1930	101,610	18,514	14,902	7,153	142,179
1940	110,832	22,997	20,436	7,500	161,765
1951	172,519	40,048	45,479	12,539	270,585
1961	359,077	149,271	133,617	53,810	695,775
	889,097	260,562	237,542	99,628	1,485,829

- millions of lire

Source: CENSIS - Costi e ricavi dell'Istruzione in "Quindicinale di note e commenti" - ₹ (1969), no. 91/92 (special issue)

T A B L E II

YEAR	ELEM. prim.	MEDIA INF. junior high	MEDIA SUP. senior high	UNIVERSITA'
1967	774,882	508,590	447,892	227,290
1968	794,698	574,942	490,617	255,530
1969	846,032	615,043	548,251	261,602

- millions of lire

SOURCE: CNEL (CENSIS) Rapporto sulla situazione sociale del Paese - 1970 - Vol. II, Part II, tab. 9.3.1 and 9.3.3

T A B L E III

YEAR	ELEMENTARI primary	MEDIA INF. junior high	MEDIA SUP. senior high	UNIVERSITA'
1900	10,700	102,000	122,000	211,500
1910	16,212	83,613	123,448	326,717
1920	17,367	47,053	76,943	83,175
1930	24,314	113,685	118,448	159,168
1940	22,404	55,346	76,053	87,683
1951	40,055	69,976	151,426	86,375
1961	89,211	119,684	210,079	280,567
1967	124,100	209,600	265,700	558,000
1968	127,600	222,800	272,500	483,900
1969	137,400	232,900	296,600	463,600

SOURCE: CENSIS - Costi e ricavi dell'Istruzione - as above
CNEL - Rapporti sulla situazione sociale - 1970
Vol. II, Part II Tab. 9.3.1

T A B L E IV

Primary school enrolment

1952 - 1953	4,477,299
1962 - 1963	4,330,098
1966 - 1967	4,525,111
1967 - 1968	4,619,943
1968 - 1969	4,673,432
1969 - 1970	4,796,593

Secondary school enrolment

1952 - 1953	863,926
1962 - 1963	1,594,111
1966 - 1967	1,920,820
1967 - 1968	1,991,421
1968 - 1969	1,981,739
1969 - 1970	2,064,762

SOURCE: CNEL - Rapporto sulla situazione sociale del Paese 1968 - Vol.I - Tab. II.3 (elaborazione su dati ISTAT)

T A B L E V

EDUCATION	1963 - 1964		1967 - 1968	
	REPETITION	DROP-OUT	REPETITION	DROP-OUT
ELEM. SCHOOL (primary)	41.5	2.2	10.3	1.7
1st YEAR secondary	15.7	14.6	14.8	11.9
2-d Year secondary	13.6	8.0	11.9	7.8
3rd Year secondary	8.1	5.6	8.4	5.5

SOURCE: CNEL - Rapporto sulla situazione sociale del Paese - 1970 - Vol. II-Part II - Tab. 4.1.1.

T A B L E VI

Attendance.

CLASS	YEAR 1960	NORMAL AGE FOR CLASS	1 YEAR BEHIND	MORE THAN 2 YEARS BEHIND	
1st year primary		81.2	12.5	6.3	100.0
5th year primary		58.4	24.6	4.9	100.0
1st year secondary		55.8	27.6	16.6	100.0
3rd year secondary		57.7	23.3.	19.0	100.0
	1967				
1st year primary		83.2	11.9	17.0	100.0
5th year primary		64.4	20.4	15.2	100.0
1st year secondary		61.7	23.5	14.8	100.0
3rd. year secondary		62.0	23.4	14.6	100.0

SOURCE: CNEL - Rapporto sulla situazione sociale del Paese - 1968 Vol.I - Tab. II, 3 (elaborazione su dati ISTAT)

T A B L E VII

SECONDARY SCHOOL (SENIOR SECTION)

1952 - 1953 = 100

YEARS	ENROLMENTS	RATE OF PROGRESS
1952 - 1953	455,700	100.0
1962 - 1963	907,081	199.0
1966 - 1967	1,341,734	294.4
* 1967 - 1968	1,400,943	307.4
1968 - 1969	1,501,336	329.5
1969 - 1970 (1)	1,570,883	344.7

(1) summary provisory data

SOURCE: Elaborazione su dati ISTAT (annuario statistico 1968 - as above - retropettivi - "Bollettino mensile di statistica" No. 10 - as above.

T A B L E VIII

Attendance at Senior section of secondary school

YEAR	Attendance normal age	1 Year behind	2 or more years behind
1959 - 60	44.2	25.0	30.8
1966 - 67	47.3	26.1	26.6

SOURCE: ISTAT - Distribuzione per eta' (see above)

T A B L E IX

University enrolments

YEAR	
1952 - 1953	138,814
1962 - 1963	225,796
1966 - 1967	338,516
1967 - 1968	370,076
1968 - 1969	415,649
1969 - 1970	488,352

SOURCE: ISTAT - Annuario Statistico - 1969
Dati retrospettivi

T A B L E X

CLASS	YEAR	ENROLLED	REPETITION	WITHDRAWN	FAILED	PROMOTED	FORM II 1950
I primary	1956	1,050,000	210,000				
I "	1957			147,000	128,000	809,000	
II "	1957	1,006,000	197,000				
II "	1958			64,000	102,000	840,000	
III "	1958	984,000	144,000				
III "	1959			60,000	48,000	886,000	
IV "	1959	923,000	37,000				
IV "	1960			40,000	69,000	814,000	
V "	1960	860,000	47,000				
V "	1961			37,000	98,000	726,000	
I second.	1961	664,000	119,000				505,000 dropped out
I "	1962			48,000	183,000	433,000	
II "	1962	516,000	83,000				
II "	1963			14,000	106,000	396,000	
III "	1963	438,000	42,000				
III "	1964				59,000	415,000	249,000 dropped out

Prim: 635,000
Second: 244,000
879,000

SOURCE: Scuola di Barbiana
lettera ad una profe soresana
Mi. Ed. Fir. 1967 - Pag.151

T A B L E XI

CLASS	YEAR	ENROLLED	REPETITION	WITHDRAWN	FAILED	PROMOTED	DONE IN 1951
I primary	1957	958,000	154,000				
I "	1958			105,000	76,000	810,000	
II "	1958	968,000	158,000				
II "	1959			68,000	107,000	793,000	
III "	1959	875,000	82,000				
III "	1960			46,000	67,000	762,000	
IV "	1960	892,000	90,000				
IV "	1961			45,000	82,000	725,000	
V "	1961	847,000	122,000				
V "	1962			63,000	89,000	695,000	
I second.	1962	668,000	99,000				389,000
I "	1963			38,000	178,000	452,000	
II "	1963	531,000	79,000				
II "	1964			22,000	101,000	408,000	
III "	1964	459,000	51,000				
III "	1965				42,000	436,000	232,000

Prim.	606,000
Sec.	229,000
	835,000

SOURCE: Scuola di Barbiana - as above - Page 152

TABLE XII

CLASS	YEAR	ENROLLED	REP.	WITHDRAWN	FAILED	PROMOTED	BORN IN 1952
I primary	1958	897,000	93,000				
I "	1959			91,000	75,000	762,000	
II "	1959	895,000	133,000				
II "	1960			36,000	104,000	755,000	
III "	1960	841,000	86,000				
III "	1961			38,000	81,000	722,000	
IV "	1961	839,000	117,000				
IV "	1962			49,000	87,000	703,000	
V "	1962	800,000	97,000				
V "	1963			30,000	90,000	680,000	
I sec.	1963	716,000	146,000				399,000
I "	1964			47,000	155,000	514,000	
II "	1964	590,000	76,000				
II "	1965			13,000	111,000	466,000	
III "	1965	472,000	18,000				
III "	1966				41,000	443,000	273,000

Prim. 526,000
Sec. 240,000
766,000

SOURCE: Scuola di Barbiana
as above - page 152

T A B L E XIII

%

YEAR	AMOUNT SPENT BY STATE	AMOUNT SPENT BY COUNCILS	AMOUNT SPENT BY PROVINCES AND REGIONS	TOTALS
1900	32.9	62.7	(from 1947) 4.4	100
1911	35.4	62.0	2.6	100
1933	72.0	26.7	1.3	100
1950	85.8	12.7	1.5	100
1961	81.0	14.2	3.8	100

SOURCE: CENSIS - Costi e ricavi dell'Istruzione - in "Quindicinale di noti e commenti" -1969 no. 91/92 (special issue)

T A B L E XIV

- billions of lire

AUTHORITIES	1961	1967	1968	1969 (1)
STATE	732.9	1,967.3	2,244.6	2,458.7
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION	604.0 (2)	1,587.8	1,766.3	1,975.9
LOCAL AUTHORITIES	249.5	283.1	310.7	324.3
TOTALS	982.4	2,250.4	2,555.3	2,783.0
% of general budget of the State	15.2	19.5	19.0	18.1
% of net national revenue	4.6	5.6	5.9	5.9

(1) estimated data

(2) the data relates to the financial year 1960 -1961

SOURCE: CNEL - Rapporto sulla situazione sociale del Paese - 1970 - Vol. II Part II - Tab. 9.3.1.

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T I T L E XV

[illegible]	STATE SCHOOL			NON-STATE SCHOOL	TOTAL
[illegible] school	Teachers	Insegnanti di ruolo (teachers officially recognized)	Insegnanti non di ruolo (teachers not officially recognized)		
1961 - 1962	71.1	72.6	61.7	90.8	72.2
[illegible] - 1962	72.4	72.2	73.9	92.4	73.6
[illegible] - 1963	75.5	74.9	87.6	93.9	76.6
[illegible] school					
[illegible] - 1962	57.6	60.8	56.8	57.0	57.5
1961 - 1962	61.9	66.0	60.8	61.5	61.9
[illegible] - 1963	62.8	74.6	55.1	58.9	62.5

SOURCE: Elaborazione dei dati ISTAT (Annuario scolastico, 1970 - as above)

T A B L E XVI

SECONDARY SCHOOL DIPLOMAS (after senior-section) AWARDED related to fathers' profession

YEAR	Managers Professional people (independent)			Workmen (dependent)	
	%			%	
1954	13.3	100.0		16.4	100.0
1955	11.5	86.5		16.8	102.4
1956	11.8	88.7		16.1	98.2
1957	11.2	84.2		17.7	107.9
1958	10.7	80.4		19.1	116.5
1959	11.2	84.2		18.7	114.0
1963	11.1	83.5		21.0	128.8
1967	9.6	72.2		25.7	156.7

1954 = 100

SOURCE: Elaborazione da dati ISTAT (annual statistics of Italian education - from the monthly bulletin of statistics - special supplement to no.8-1969

T A B L E XVII

ENROLMENTS FOR THE FIRST YEAR OF CLASSICS HIGH SCHOOL, SCIENCE HIGH SCHOOL AND "ISTITUTI MAGISTRALI" (schools:institutespreparing teachers for primary schools) RELATED TO THE PROFESSION OF THE FATHER (1969 - 1970)

PROFESSION OF FATHER	CLASSICS HIGH SCHOOL	SCIENCE HIGH SCHOOL	ISTITUTO MAGISTRALE	% IN ACTIVE WORKING POPULATION
Managers and independent professionals people	18.9	14.6	7.4	1.4
Directors and 'white collar' workers	43.2	38.8	25.2	15.8
Self-employed workers	17.7	19.4	23.6	23.2
Dependent workers	18.0	24.1	38.7	50.1
Workers not fully employed	2.2	3.1	5.1	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: CNEL - Rapporto sulla situazione sociale del paese - 1969 - Vol. I Tab. 1.6
B.U. del Ministry of Education - 1970- no. 42 Part I - ordinary supplement.

T A B L E XVIII

SECONDARY SCHOOL DIPLOMAS AWARDED - RELATED TO FATHERS' PROFESSION (1967)

FATHERS' PROFESSION	PERCENTAGE				TOTAL AWARDED DIPLOMAS		% OF ACTIVE WORKING POPULATION
	Completion Classics H.S.	Complet. Science H.S.	Qualification Teacher (prim)	Qualif. Technical	Male & female	Female	
Managers and independent professionals	19.6	15.5	6.2	6.3	9.6	9.9	1.4
Directors and 'white collar' workers	48.2	50.1	33.5	29.5	35.7	38.2	15.8
Self - employed workers	21.5	23.3	34.5	29.7	28.7	29.2	23.2
Dependent workers	10.5	10.8	25.5	34.1	25.7	22.4	50.1
Workers not fully employed	0.2	0.3	.0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	9.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Indagine speciale sui diplomati di Scuole Medie Superiori -in Bollettino mensile di Statistica - suppl. straord? no. 8 - 1969 ISTAT.

CNEL - Rapporto sulla situazione sociale del Paese - 1969 VOL. I Part. I Tab. I.6

T A B L E XIX

Enrolments - 1st year of Senior Secondary School

%

TYPE OF SCHOOL	1965	1969	1970 (1)
Classics H.S.	12.0	9.9	10.2
Science H.S.	7.4	13.5	15.1
Prim. teaching Institute	16.7	13.4	11.1
Technical Institute	44.6	38.5	38.5
Industrial Institute	20.7	14.2	14.7
Commercial & Surveyors Institute	21.6	21.1	20.5
Professional Institute	18.2	22.5	23.2
Other Institutes	2.4	3.2	3.2

(1) provisory data

SOURCE : Annuario Statistico dell'Istruzione italiana 1967
ISTAT " " " " " 1970

TABLE XX

Geographical Divisions	EDUCATION					TOTALS
	PROFESSIONAL	TECHNICAL	TEACHER TRAINING (prim.)	CLASSICS	SCIENCE	
ITALY N.W.	13.5	49.8	14.7	11.8	10.2	100.0
ITALY N. E.	15.6	46.9	17.3	10.6	9.6	100.0
CENTRAL ITALY	12.1	45.5	16.0	15.4	11.1	100.0
SOUTH ITALY & ISLANDS	11.5	40.3	22.5	16.7	9.0	100.0
ITALY	12.7	44.6	18.5	14.4	9.8	100.0

TABLE XXI STUDENTS ENROLLED AT ALL SCHOOLS 1948-1949 to 1968-1969

SCHOOL	1948-1949	1958-59	Variations 1949-1959	1963-64	1968-69	Variations 1959-69	Total Variations	1959-64 annual average	Total Variations	1964-69 annual average.
Primary	4,878,149	4,675,786	-202,363	4,420,050	4,706,180	+30,394	-255,736	-51,127	+286,130	+52,226
Junior High	570,948	1,150,057	+579,109	1,684,932	1,982,011	+831,954	+534,875	+106,975	+297,079	+59,414
Profess. School	21,976	80,298	+ 58,322	183,188	214,881	+134,583	+102,890	+ 20,578	+ 31,694	+ 6,339
Technical Instit.	116,420	279,395	+162,975	431,603	619,000	+339,605	+152,208	+30,411	+187,397	+37,479
Teacher training (prim.) Institutes	56,603	105,432	+ 48,829	150,244	249,451	+144,019	+ 44,812	+ 8,962	+ 99,207	+19,841
Science High School	43,730	53,698	+ 9,968	80,807	185,209	+131,511	+ 27,109	+ 5,241	+104,402	+20,880
Classics " "	131,639	144,280	+ 12,641	163,696	198,590	+ 54,310	+ 19,416	+ 3,883	+ 34,894	+ 6,979
Total Senior Sec. Schools	370,368	663,103	+292,735	1,009,538	1,467,131	+804,028	+346,435	+69,287	+457,593	+91,518
Universities	245,040	231,090	- 13,950	334,681	496,856	+265,266	+103,591	+20,718	+161,675	+32,335

SOURCE: Elaborazione di dati ISTAT - Annuario statistico dell'Istruzione Italiana-Vol.XXI

T A B L E XXII Pupils enrolled for the first year of Secondary School - all types.

1961 - 62 to 1968 - 69.

SCHOOL	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
JUNIOR HIGH	663,545	668,144	716,389	683,283	706,590	737,586	775,951	797,603
PROF. SCHOOL	68,651	76,897	85,668	66,380	68,962	78,424	91,347	100,285
TECH.SCHOOLS in general	106,776	118,780	122,508	162,562	168,268	179,847	173,285	171,577
TECH. INST. INDUSTRIAL	44,502	55,657	61,967	75,280	69,860	69,222	62,808	63,533
TECH. INST. COMMERCIAL	38,781	38,225	37,243	57,065	63,148	68,123	64,137	59,598
Teacher TRAIN. (prin) INSTITUTES	39,136	42,695	49,938	64,667	75,897	90,471	72,092	69,134
SCIENCE E.S.	19,151	20,239	22,811	26,806	30,479	49,086	56,248	60,230
CLASSICS H.S.	38,207	38,942	40,448	43,873	43,804	47,265	44,384	44,431
TOTAL SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS	266,931	297,553	321,373	364,238	392,410	445,093	437,356	436,076

SOURCE: ISTAT - Annuari Statistici dell'Istruzione italiana

- Voll. XV to XXI

T A B L E XXIII CERTIFICATES AND DIPLOMAS AWARDED FROM SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1960-61 to 1967-68

SCHOOL	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68
JUNIOR HIGH	329,593	393,777	388,795	415,182	445,581	479,897	461,016	484,092
PROF. SCHOOL	22,433	22,602	25,491	41,403	46,805	51,710	42,260	44,421
TECH. EDUC. IN GENERAL	47,124	49,378	49,109	52,956	63,064	73,005	86,320	89,385
TECH. INST. INDUSTRIAL	8,092	8,880	10,719	12,575	16,435	21,689	29,148	33,435
TECH. INST. COMMERCIAL	24,957	26,138	24,451	25,898	29,143	30,426	30,984	30,803
TEACHER TR. prim. INSTITUTES	25,516	25,062	24,966	28,623	33,029	37,123	42,555	51,255
SCIENCE H.S.	8,274	8,514	8,953	10,038	12,177	13,727	14,701	16,769
CLASSICS H.S.	23,684	23,913	22,134	24,106	27,187	28,583	29,721	31,506
TOTAL SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS	127,031	129,469	130,653	157,126	182,262	204,148	215,557	233,336

SOURCE: ISTAT - Annuario Statistici dell'Istruzione Italiana - Voll. XV -XXI

1) Ministero del Bilancio e della Programmazione - Progetto 80 - Feltrinelli - Milano - 1969

2) Scuola di Barbiana - lettera ad una Professoressa - Libreria Editrice Fiorentina - 1967

3) See ISTAT - Annuario statistico dell'Istruzione italiana: Volumes XV - XXI.

4) See "Relazione generale sulla situazione economica del paese per il 1970" in "Notiziario economico della CGIL no. 26 - maggio 1970 - Page 13.

5) See "Strutture ed ordinamenti del biennio 14-16 anni" in "Annali della Pubblica Istruzione - 1969 no. 4 - 5.
- "La nuova secondaria - quaderno monografico di "Formazione e lavoro" - 1970 no.45
- "Nuovi indirizzi dell'Istruzione secondaria" in "Scuola e città" - 1970 no. 5, Pages 250 - 256

6) See for example "Differenziazione ed unificazione del sistema scolastico" in "Scuola e Didattica" - gennaio 1970

7) See Discorso del Ministro Sullo, allora Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione al Senato nella seduta del 4 marzo 1969 (the speech made by the minister Sullo, the then Minister of Education, at the senate in the sitting of the 4th March 1969) e la Circolare del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione del 3 giugno 1970 no. 109.

8) For non-state school read the private school recognised by the state and capable of giving valid certificates of study. Insegnante "di ruolo" means a teacher enrolled on the state register. Insegnante non di ruolo, is a qualified teacher not yet on the state register.

9) This decline began in 1967-68
See Zanotta Fadiga - "Il sistema scolastico italiano"- Il Mulino - 1971 page 198

10) see A. Visalberghi "L'influenza dei fattori "oggettivi" sulla scelta della Facoltà" in Shell Italiana - Inchiesta no.8 Genova 1967 and
- M. Corda Costa "Alcuni dati e qualche considerazione su gli Istituti Magistrali" in "Scuola e Città" - 1965 no. 6/7

11) For example "Il Movimento di Cooperazione Educativa", "L'Erba Voglio" and the many alternative experiences such as school for the people, "controscuola" and "doposcuola".

12) Mario Miegge - "Sviluppo Capitalistico e scuola lunga" in "Inchiesta" Inverno 1971

Notes:

12) cont.)
- Centro Karl Marx di Pisa - "Sviluppo Capitalistico e forza lavoro intellettuale" - Jaca Book - Milano 1969

- Collettivo romano di lavoro sulla Scuola "Contro l'uso capitalistico della scuola" - Mussolini - 1970

- Il Manifesto - Atti del Convegno "Scuola, sviluppo capitalistico, alternativa operaia; e studentesca" - Roma 23-24 maggio 1970 - Quaderno no.1

- Il Manifesto (newspaper) 2/1970: R. Rossanda, M. Cini, L. Berlinguer "Tesi sulla scuola" e V. Parlato "L'esercito di riserva".

- 5/1970 L. Magri "Il movimento studentesco - linee per una ripresa".

- Il Manifesto (magazine) R. Rossanda e M. Barbugli "Scuola e società -crescono le tensioni" - no./12/1970

- Centro di Coordinamento Campano - "La Scuola Capitalistica in Italia - Note per un'inchiesta nel Mezzogiorno" - Napoli - 1970

- Collettivo romano di lavoro sulla scuola - "Scuola ed occupazione in Italia" - Roma - 1970

- Campo di Studio "Scuola e sviluppo capitalistico" Agape (Prali) - 23-30 Agosto 1970.

13) See M. Cecilini "Ritardo e disadattamento nella scuola elementare" in Atti del convegno "Psichiatria ed Enti Locali" - Reggio Emilia 24-25 Marzo 1970.

14) See M. Barbagli e M. Dei - "Le Vestali della classe media - Bologna - Il Mulino 1970.

15) See the document "Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland" for an account of the "BundesAnstalt für Arbeit" by Karl-Heinz Roljewilken.

16) An accurate calculation on the ~~biased~~ partially data expressed in this document show that this number is not high, but in fact lower than the actual number of 2,372,325. In fact at the end of September 1971 there were:-

COUNTRY	MEN	WOMEN	TOTALS
Yugoslavia	478,321	139,929	618,250
Turkey	453,145	97,358	550,503
Italy	408,015	97,936	505,951
Greece	268,653	113,846	382,499
Spain	186,585	53,936	240,521
Portugal	58,390	16,211	74,601
TOTALS	1,853,109	519,216	2,372,325

16) ... the document mentioned under 15).

17) " " " " " "

18) ... James Hickman – "Germany's apprenticed youth" – New Society – 2 March 1972 – Pages 437-440

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A THEORETICAL MODEL OF THE DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

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A THEORETICAL MODEL OF THE DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Introduction

Social policy discussions in the field of education have centred on two main problems, those of efficiency and social justice. As problems they are not separate from one another and the pursuit of one need not necessarily involve the devaluation of the other. The best way in which to achieve a balance between the two is, however, still open to considerable dispute. Will a comprehensive schools policy contribute to equality of educational opportunity? If it does, will it be at the expense of educational standards? How far will central government expenditure on educational priority areas increase rates of staying on at school beyond the statutory leaving age? What, in any case, is the precise relationship between expenditure on education and rates of staying on at school? What financial and social provisions are called for to substantially offset the accumulative handicaps of social class, housing standards and variations in Local Authority provisions?

These questions are difficult to answer even in a narrow technical sense although one of the aims of this paper is to suggest one approach to their solution. They are yet more vexing in that they incorporate widely different assumptions about the ends of education and the aims of social policy. The apparently simple notions of efficiency and justice can be seen in terms of economic instrumentality or individual excellence. Justice can be conceptualised in meritocratic or egalitarian terms. Thus it is possible to distinguish at least four types of policy orientations which, if pursued, would lead to quite different consequences for the structure of educational institutions and the nature of their work.

Efficiency	Justice: Meritocratic	Justice: Egalitarian
Instrumental		
Expressive		

Figure 1

Examples of all four such policies can be easily identified in recent writings in the field.[1]

It is not the aim of this paper to argue directly for a particular course of social policy but to urge that social policy discussions need to be empirically grounded. Our main point is that, particularly in the field of educational sociology, research has been handicapped both by a paucity of empirical information about the operation of educational systems and by a narrowness of focus which has immunised Local Education Authorities from careful and critical analysis. Whatever social policy ends are pursued the selection of the appropriate means for their achievement involves some consideration of the contribution of Local Authorities to the efficient functioning of the educational system.

We have argued elsewhere that sociological models of determinants of the factors influencing school attainment have been preoccupied by the culturally deadening impact of working classness.[2] Our aim was to make clear our view that while social class favours do influence school attainment the precise way in which they do so had still to be conceptualised adequately. We argued that social factors operate just as significantly on the educational resources, policy and expenditure of a local authority as on the cultural and motivation equipment of types of children.[3] Using the technique of multiple regression, but on a restricted body of data, we were able to demonstrate that the amount of variation in rates of staying on at school which could be predicted from a knowledge only of the social class characteristics of a local authority was far less than had previously been supposed. The aim of this paper is to carry on that analysis with a wider body of data for Northern Local Authorities, to examine what amount of variation in rates of staying on at school can be predicted from a knowledge of some specified variables describing local authority resources, expenditure and wealth and to describe on the basis of a theoretical model the previse mode of operation of social class factors.

The analytical focus of this study and the type of analysis which it uses follow logically from some recent writings in the field. Variations in the provision of all types of local services between authorities have been carefully examined by Bleddyn Davies[4], Taylor and Ayres[5], John Eggleston[6], and Noel Boaden[7]. Such variations, as Boaden has convincingly argued cannot be explained in terms of central government decisions. Explanations have to be sought in the different needs, social policies and resources of local authorities and presuppose

a view of such authorities as 'authoritative allocators' of resources between different sections of the community.[8]

The precise amount of variation in rates of staying on at school which can be predicted from such variation in local authority provision is not clear from the literature mentioned. Boaden's account is far more concerned with a description of the variables which influence local expenditure and policy than with an assessment of the efficiency of the local system. What is clear, however, is that the interaction of needs, dispositions and resources does not lead to random outcomes. He is able to establish a number of important recurrent relationships. Thus the submission of plans for comprehensive organisation is positively related to Labour party control of the authority, high social class composition of an authority and the presence of a low labour percentage on the council coincides with a higher provision of grammar school places.[9] Leaving aside the question of the relative efficiency of different types of provision since 'this is a difficult question which raises complex problems of educational values' Boaden's overall assessment is as follows: "Thus we have a service in which needs and dispositions produce a pressure for provision with resources automatically being channelled for this purpose."[10] His measure of educational expenditure however is not the best one available. Expenditure per capita per thousand of the population conceals the way in which this money is being spent and it is perhaps this variable which compels Boaden to conclude that in the provision of local education services, local needs are of far greater significance than patterns of expenditure.

Despite this objection, however, the need to investigate local authorities has been unambiguously established. The aim of this paper is to describe a theoretical model of some of the variables which relate to influence the educational yield of patterns of provision and to see whether or not it is possible to assess the direction of influence of these variables, particularly that of social class.

The approach we are adopting is distinctively sociological. Its aim is to give an account of the way in which resources influence the life chances of school children although at this stage of our enquiry it is not possible for us to give a rounded picture of this process. Further investigations are planned into the political process of Local Authority decision making and the way in which presence or absence of good facilities, staff pupil ratios and innovating teaching methods, all of which are influenced by the resources

commanded by an authority, operate to influence the output and retaining power of schools.

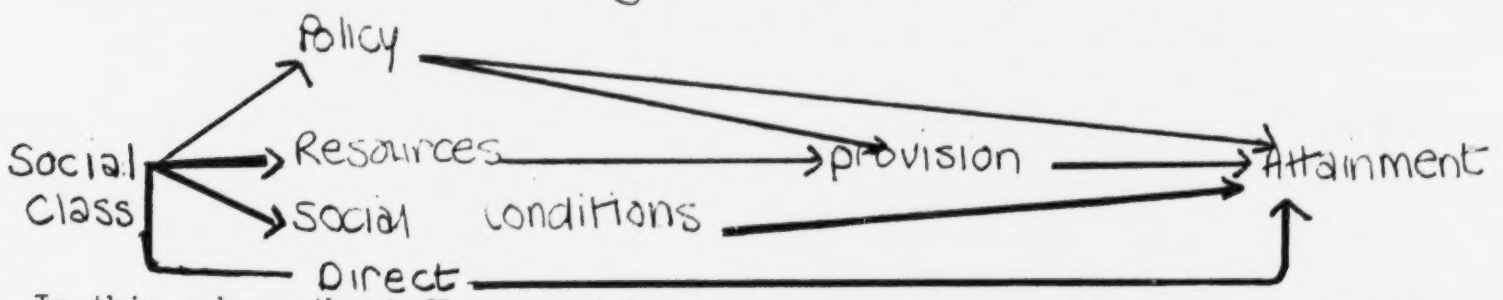
Methodology

There are several ways through which it would be possible to assess the explanitory efficiency of different accounts of the way in which social class factors influence attainment. The approach adopted here is to examine the influence of environmental factors taken together with the resources, patterns of provision and expenditure of local authorities.

The data necessary for such an approach is to some extent readily available from official sources. As a result it is a comparatively easy task to test the relationship between a number of variables (including social class, social environment, resources, provision and social policy) as these influence rates of staying on at school.[11]

If the statistical techniques of path analysis are employed on this data then it becomes in principle possible to test out complex theoretical models describing the interrelations of the variables already mentioned.

In figure 2 we represent the important variables we are concerned with in this paper in the form of a simple diagram. This figure does not represent a fully designated path diagram but it does clearly indicate what relationships can be tested and assessed. Fig 2



In this scheme the influence of low social class upon attainment can be examined in at least four different ways each pointing to the different modes through which social class factors influence attainment. The first is through its effects on the environment of the child. The second is through the resources and level of provision associated with low social class. The third is through the interaction of types of social policy and levels of provision. The final influences are those deriving from a particular culture or language style. These are the attributes of social class which ahve been traditionally conceptualised by educational sociologist and whose effects are thought of as being separate from those of resources, policies and types of provision. Given the analytical weight which has been

attached to this latter group of factors and the social policy programme which have been derived from them it is very important that some attempt be made to establish what amount of variation in rates of attainment can be directly attributed to them.[12] One of the aims of this paper, as it has already been pointed out, is to show that the explanitory power of socio-cultural variables is far less than has previously been supposed. What makes this claim possible is the analysis of the other modes of operation of social class influences.

The analysis presented here is not in any sense a final one. The nature of the data to be used imposes several restrictions on the method. To fully test the model described in figure 2 it would be necessary to employ longtitudinal data on the effects of differences in resources and provision over time. The data we have used is cross sectional data. Longtitudinal data is available but up to the present we have not had the resources to use it.

One important difficulty associated with our data, and particularly the data dealing with the relationship between rates of staying on at school and provision, is that the direction of influence of these factors is difficult to disentangle. Higher rates of staying on at school will automatically call forth different levels of provision. Noel Boaden has suggested that levels of provision are strongly reflexive to real educational needs.[13] On the other hand there is reason to suppose that the relationship is not quite so reflexive. John Eggleston has established for some Midland Local Authorities that staying on at school is positively related to the provision of extended school courses.[14] Bleddyn Davies' calculations also seem to suggest that rates of staying on at school was not a major determinant of provision.[15] For these reasons we can proceed with some confidence with our analysis although it is based on cross sectional data with a small chronological ordering included.

The data has been drawn from the three Northern Economic Planning Regions and for this reason it has an important skew to it. The data is census data and while not therefore subject to sampling biases, it does describe the poorest part of England. The effect of the biasing is not to obscure the way in which low social class influence attainment. Rather it is to mask the positive influence of high social class and high resources. In any case we have presented the results of the national study, admittedly on a more restricted set of data, in Appendix A of this paper.

The method was to construct a correlation matrix describing the interrelationship between twenty-nine variables derived from fifty-three Northern Local Authorities. This matrix is given in Appendix B together with alist of the variables employed. This data was then tested in various ways, first by factor

analysis, then by a combination of multiple regression and partial correlation techniques, and finally, by a very speculative and avowedly improper use of path analysis. A description of the various methods and of the results derived is the content of the remainder of this paper.

The Factor Analysis

In order to summarise the very large body of data incorporated in the large correlation matrix we subjected it to a factor analysis and rotated the factors. This procedure is descriptive rather than analytic since there are considerable technical difficulties imposed by the techniques of factor analysis.[16] The results do indicate a cluster of important relationships even if they do not allow us to make statements about the causal interrelations of the variables employed. The factor analysis of the data is given in Appendix C.

Factor One which explained 21% of the overall variation in attainment was strongly positively correlated (i.e. a correlation of more than 0.3.) with the following variables:

Housing overcrowding	r = 0.4
Population density	0.5
Industrialisation Index	0.46
Low social class	0.65
% Males leaving school at minimum age in 1961	0.90
% Females "	0.92
No. Years Labour control in 1960's	0.70

This factor was strongly negatively correlated with the following variables:

Positive housing amenity	r = 0.79
Per capital expenditure on pupils	0.42
Expenditure per pupil on primary school teachers	0.48
Proportion of children staying on at 16	0.71
" " " " " " 17	0.68
Grants per 1,000 populations receiving high grade F.E. awards	0.64
Grants for teacher training	0.35

This factor would thus appear to be a summary of the interrelationship between social class, (the parental group educational experience variables must be taken as social class variables), housing and other enviromental conditions, educational resources and provision, and educational attainment.

The summary might run: children with fathers in low status occupational roles, whose mothers and fathers are likely to have left school at the minimum possible age, live in overcrowded houses lacking in one or more basic amenities, located in industrial areas of high population density, where they have less spent on them by society during their short school life. Such a summary gives the total picture of "depreviation" without describing the causal interrelationships within the deprevation complex. Regression and path models, rather than factor analysis are the appropriate techniques for facilitating causal analysis. Before proceeding to such analysis of the complex indentified by this first factor, it is worth looking at some other elements which emerge from the Factor Analysis.

Factor Two, "explaining" 9.6% of total variance is positively correlated with proportion of 13 year olds in comprehensive schools ($r = 0.96$) and with expenditure per pupil on secondary school teachers ($r = 0.30$), and negatively correlated with porportion of 13 year olds in Grammer schools ($r = 0.73$) and in secondary-modern schools ($r = -0.91$).

This summarizes the abvious statement that the more children in an L.E.A. are in comprehensive schools, the fewer are in a selective system, together with the interesting and less obvious indication that in comprehensive school sytems overall expenditure on pupils is higher than inselective systems. This accords with some indications the present authors found in an North-Eastern study[15] relating to the existence of egalitarian and non-egalitarian L.E.A's.

Factor Three "explaining" 8.2% of total variance is postively correlated with:

Population density	$r = 0.42$
Rateable value per capita	$r = 0.91$
Density rate per pupil	$r = 0.93$

and negatively correlated with low social class $r = -0.36$. This seems merely to summarize the information that the poor don't live in wealthy towns.

Factor Four "explaining" 6.7% total variance is positively correlated with L.E.A's size (population) $r = 0.82$ and no. per thousand of age - group lesser value further education awards. $r = 0.87$. Since there awards are typically paid out of "residual" income, this relationship is not surprising.

Factor Five "explaining" 4.8% total variance is positively correlated with per capita expenditure $r = 0.35$, and no. per thousand age-group new awards for University, high grade F.E. and teacher-training ($r = 0.85$, 0.36 and 0.33 respectively), which indicates a relationship between wealth of and provision made by an L.E.A., and elitist attainment within the system.

Factor Six seems to describe only land values i.e. it is postively correlated with expenditure per primary pupil on rent and rates r = 0.89 and Industrialisation Index r = 0.46. (Total "explanation" = 5%).

Factor Seven and Factor Eight explaining 8.5% and 4.7% of total variance respectively are expenditure factors. Factor seven is negatively correlated with expendture per pupil (r = 0.70) and all the provision components of the. Factor eight is negatively correlated with industrialisation index (r = -0.35), population of 13 year olds in Grammer schools (r = -0.32) and expenditure on primary school equipment (r = -0.86). This is propably a statistical artifact.

Factor Nine accounting for 4.3% of total variance in merely "rich towns".

Factor Ten accounting for 9.2% of total variance is negatively correlated with proportion of pupils receiving school meals who receive them free r = -0.72, housing over-crowding r = -0.71, population density r = -0.45, expenditure per secondary school pupil on rents and rates r = -0.36, and is positively correlated with expenditure per primary school pupil or primary school teachers, r = 0.33, proportion children staying on until 16 r = 0.45, and the "teacher training variable" r = 0.55. It thus appears similar to variable 1, given that "rent and rates" are land value determined.

The Regression Models

As a preliminary stage in the exploration of causal inter-relationships in the class-deprivation-attainment complex, we constructed a number of multiple regression models. These are given in Appendix D. The first six of the multiple-correlation coefficients presented there are an indication of the explanatory power of the "independent" variable set in relation to the six indices of "attainment" which we took as the dependent variables. The rest relate to the first of these dependent indices i.e. the no. of children in an Local Education Authority's schools as a proportion of those aged 13, three years earlier. This "retention in school" index is concentrated upon because it is the chronological precursor of other educational attainment and as such can be taken as the simplest measure of output of school systems. The multiple correlation coefficient r24,1-23 which indicates the amount of variation in the rate of staying on, which can be predicted by the variation in the "independent" variables has the value $r^2$24,1-23 = 0.89 which indicates that taken together the independent variables "explain"nearly 90% of the variation in the rate of staying-on until 16. The object of the other regression models is to chart just how this variation is made up, and in particular, to explore the modes of operation of low social class.

The zero-order product moment correlation between our index of low social class (narrowly defined) and rate of staying on until 16 i.e. r24.8 is -0.56 giving an r^2 of 0.31. If we composite this occupational definition of low social class with the indices measuring parental age-groups educational experience in terms of proportion leaving school at minimum possible age (variables 12 and 13) which can properly be regarded as a social class variable[17], then the value of r24,8,12,13 is 0.72 (sign is not given for multiple correlations) giving an r^2 of 0.52) It would appear from these results that low social class is a very important determinant of educational attainment. The problem they pose is what are the modes of operation of that determination?

If we turn back to the hypothetical model represented by figure 2 in this paper, we see that this suggested that the operation of the influence of low social class was through four major modes viz:- the resource-provision mode, the policy provision mode, the environmental mode and the residual mode, comprising the direct "attribute" effects of low social class. We can, by constructing the appropriate multiple correlation coefficients, look at the isolated effect of resource-provision, policy, and environment. This effect is isolated in the sense that it ignores other variables which may have a determinant effect, rather than in the sense of taking them into account.

Thus r24.1-5 i.e. the amount of variation in the rate of staying on which can be predicted from variation in a group of environmental variables has the value r24,10-r measuring the predictive effect of variation in an L.E.A.'s own resources on rates of staying on has the value r24.10=0.34, r^2=0.12, r24.11 measuring the effect of total resources after the effect of redistributive grants has the value r24.11=0.51, r^2= 0.26.

Taken these two together (which is meaningful since 10, d rate per pupil is a measure of resources over time, whereas 11, per capita expenditure, is a measure of current resource provision) r24.10,11=0.59.r^2= 0.35. If we look at the effect of the current expenditures per pupil on equipment and teachers in both primary and secondary schools i.e. construct r24.18,19,22,23, this has the value r=0.49 r^2=0.24. The influence of variations in proportions of children attending schools of different types, which in the current situation of secondary reorganization is very much a measure of policy influence, is described by the coefficient r24.15-17 which has the value r0.34, r^2=0.11. Taken together resource, provision and policy variables i.e. 10,11,15-19 and 22,23 give a multiple correlation of r24,10,-11,15-19, 22-23=0.69, r^2=0.47. When the environmental variation is added in i.e. r24,1-5,10-11,15-19,22-23 is constructed this has the value r=0.85, r^2=0.72. This suggests that some 72% of the total

variation in the rate of staying on at school can be accounted for in terms of variation in educational resources, policy, and provision, taken together with variation in physical environment One wonders which aspect of "bad environment" is operative here. The indices we employed describe Newsom's grey areas which unlike Plowden's scattered and exceptional E.P.A.s contained 1/3 of all schools , and it may be that the operative agencies are outmoded schools with inexperienced teachers and a high teacher turnover. This would accord with Douglas' findings on the effect of moves to council estates Thus these environmental indices may in fact not operate independently but through a "school-system" variable which they indirectly reflect. A more complete model must attempt to assess this by, e.g. examining school-age, teacher turnover, etc.)

This leads to the question of whether the effect of low social-class can be considered as being mediated through this resource, policy, provision environment complex. If we add in low social class, broadly defined, to our model we find that r24,1-5,8,12-19,-19,22-23(a correlation which includes a measure of the influence of labour party control) has the value $r=0.87, r^2=0.75$. This enables us to construct themultiple-partial correlation coefficient r24(8,12,13),1-5,10-11,14-19,22,23, i.e. the measure of the amount of variation in rates of staying are which can be predicted from variation in social class composition of the population (broadly defined) when variation in resources, provision, policy and environment are controlled for this has the added advantage of enabling "non-class" effects of parental educational experience t be assessed. By generalization from the standard formula[18] we can say

$$r^2 24\ (8,12,13),1\text{-}5,10\text{-}11,15\text{-}19,22,23 = \frac{R^2 24,8,12.13,1\text{-}5 \text{ etc.} - R^2 24.1\text{-}5 \text{ etc}}{1-R^2 24.1\text{-}5 \text{ etc.}}$$

$$\text{i.e. } r^2 24(8,12,13)1\text{-}5 \text{ etc.} = \frac{0.75 - 0.72}{1-0.72}$$

$$= \frac{0.03}{0.28}$$

$$= 0.11$$

When this is compared with the simple multiple correlation coefficient r24.8,12,13 which gives an r^2 value of 0.51 it will be apparent that this result tends to confirm the hypotheses advanced in diagrammatic style in figure 1. In other words we can reasonably say that just under 80% of the influence of low social

class and educational experience of the parental age-group operates through the specified modes we suggest, and approximately 20 is left as an unexplained residual. If we take the narrower definition of low social class i.e. in terms of adult male occupations, which has a mean value of 29 , and describes the proportion in the population of seim-and unskilled workers often marked off as "lower" working-class, we find that the corresponding partial correlation coefficient:-

$$r^2 24.8,1\text{-}5,10\text{-}11,15\text{-}19,22\text{-}23 = 0.07$$

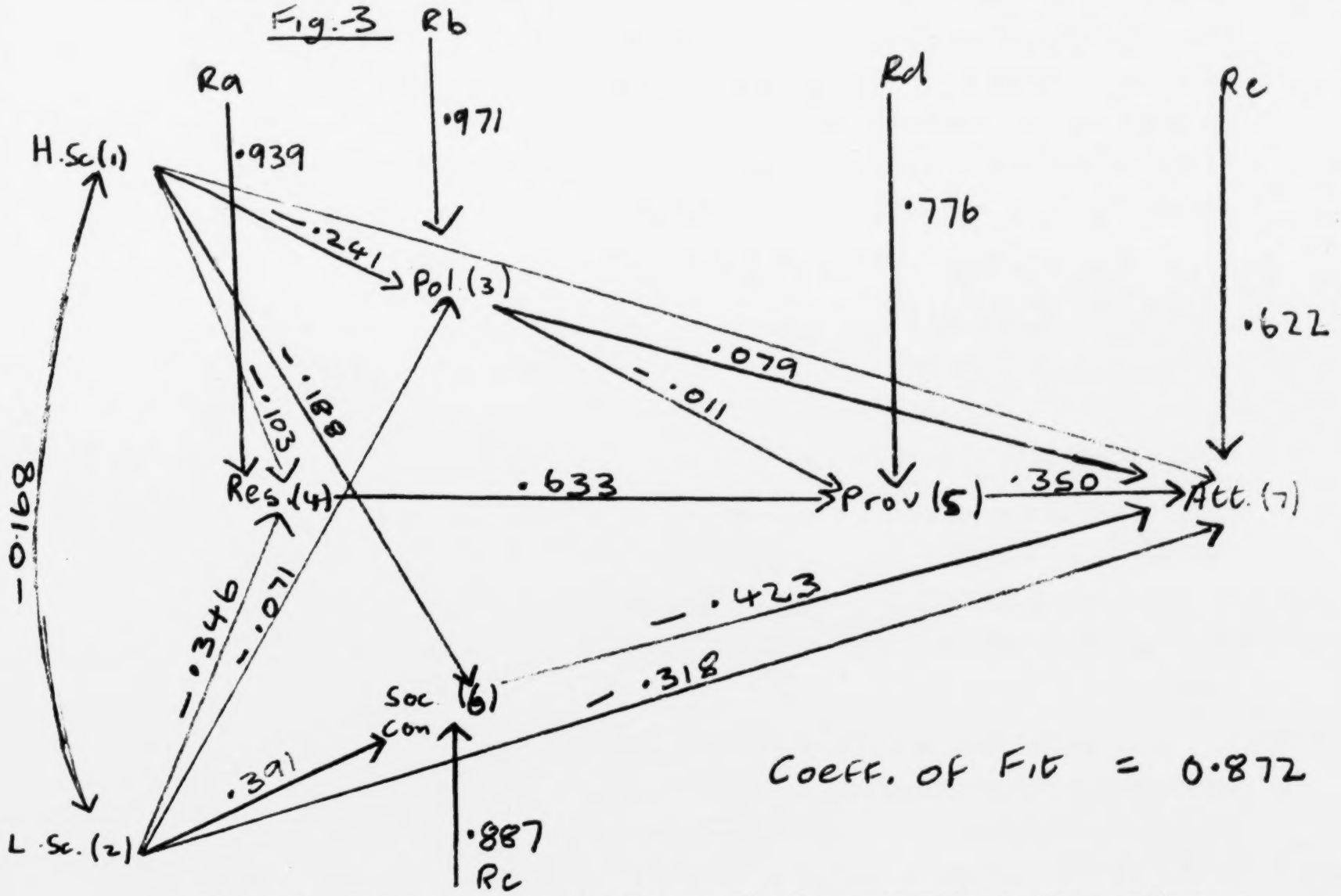
When this is contrasted with the simple zero-order product moment correlation coefficient $r^2 24.8=0.31$, we see that a corresponding residual of about 20% of the effect of low social class is left unexplained by variation in policy, provision and resources.

We did not consider it very meaningful to carry out the reverse procedure for assessing the positive influence of high social class given the bias in using a Northern data base which we have already referred to, butin an earlier national study we did obtain similar results using a much more restricted data base

In a sense this kind of regression analysis is rapidly becoming a historical technique. The potential is rapidly becoming a historical technique. The potential offered by path analysis means that any full-scale research project is far better advised to employ a technique which allows specific, rather than aggregated relationship to be tested. However, multiple-regression does at least allow us to generalize, albeit in the context of some heroic assumptions,[19] and the results presented here are sufficiently striking to at least suggest that "deprivation" ought to be understood in terms of the areas we suggest. We will discuss all this in rather more detail in the conclusion. For now we will attempt a very crude and "invalid" application of path analysis to the area under consideration, in an attempt to explore the <u>specific</u> routes of operation of these variables.

The Path Analysis

Fig. 3



Coeff. of Fit = 0.872

The above figure is the path diagram which corresponds to the hypotheses suggested in figure 2 and follows the standard conventions for drawing path diagrams. Although, as we have previously stated, the use of path analysis techniques with cross-sectional data in which these reflexive relationships is properly speaking invalid, we felt that it would be interesting to engage in the speculative exercise of onstructing this diagram. In the diagram the variables numbered are the following variables listed in Apendix B.

1. High Social Class = Var 7
2. Low Social Class = Var 8
3. Policy = Var 15 (Proportion of 13 year olds in Comprehensive Schools)
4. Resources = Var 11 (per capita expenditural)
5. Provision = Var 18 (Expenditure per primary puil on primary teachers)
6. Soc. Conditions = Var 2 (Housing Overcrowding)
7. Attainment = Var 24 (Proportion staying on until 16)

It will be noted that ny employing primary expenditure variable as our provivsion variable we have tried to avoid some of the problems of reflexivity in this model is far less complete in terms of range of v riables employed than these covered in the multiple regression exercises described in the previous chapter. This means that there are fewer possible paths for the influence of social class than there would be if all twenty-one variables there utilized were employed, and this is likely to compartively exaggerate the direct influence of social class factors.

The overall explanatory power of the model in relation to the final dependent variable is given by the square of root $1 - Re^2 = 0.61$ (1 - the coeffecient of alientation).

Thus overall the model gives an account of some 60% of the variation in the rates of staying on until 16. It will be noted that this is less than the multiple-regression "complexes" described in the previous section.

Perhaps the only other useful comments to make upon this path model relate to the ranking of determinant influences an attainment and the assessment of the direct as opposed to indirect effects of social class. To deal with the first the ranking of paths to "attainment" is as follows:

1. Social Conditions - .423
2. Provision .350
3. Low Social Class - .318
4. High Social Class .118
5. Policy .079

This certainly lends support to any conception of deprivation couched in terms of educational resources and environmental conditions.

In terms of "direct" as opposed to "indirect" effects of social class, the implications of the model are that of the total variation in attainment due to low social class, some 43% was "indirect", that is through the policy, resources-provision, and social conditions modes specified in the hypothetical diagram in figure 2. For high social class some 45% of effect can be considered to act through these modes. These results are less striking than those of the multiple regression calculations but it must be remembered that they are in the context of a far less complete "description" of the overall situation and certainly interesting in their own right.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper has been to suggest that "deprivation" in an educational context is perhaps best understood in a material sense. The results of the various calculations performed, while not absolutely ruling out non-material modes of operation of deprivation, do suggest that resouces, provision, policy and social conditions play a major role in constraining the educational achievement of children. In particular the regression models constructed suggest that the effect of other modes of operation must be considered to relate to a residual of some 20% of overall effect. The path analysis is less conclusive, but is based on a more restricted data base.

For the moment delimitation of non-material modes of operation of deprivation can only, as we stated earlier, be suggested. Full delimitation necessitates the construction of an appropriate longitudinal data base for advanced analytical techniques. However it would not be going too far to say that the results presented in this paper at least offer a strong suggestion that the message of the current situation in educational policy, provision and theories of deprivation is best summarized by the following quatrain,

"Its the same the whole world over,
Ain't it all a bleeding shame,
Its the rich what gets the gravy,
Its the poor what gets the blame.

Notes

1. See the article by Eric Hoyle "Social theories of education in contemporary Britain" Social Science Information 9 (4) 1970 pp 169-186

2. D.S. Byrne & W. Williamson "The Myth of the Restricted Code" University of Durham, Department of Sociology and Social Administration, Working Papers in Sociology No. 1 1971.
   also,
   D.S. Byrne & W. Williamson, "Some Intra-regional Variations in Educational Provision and their bearing on Educational Attainment: The Case of the North East" in Sociology Vol 1 1972

3. Byrne & Williamson op.cit.

4. Bleddyn Davies Social Needs and Resources in Local Services M. Joseph 1968
   M. Joseph 1968

5. G. Taylor and N. Ayres Born and Bred Unequal Longmans 1969

6. J. Eggleston "Some Environmental Correlates of Extended Secondary Education " in D. Swift Basic Readings in the Sociology of Education Routledge 1970

7. Noel Boaden Urban Policy Making Cambridge University Press 1971

8. Boaden op cit pp

9. Boaden op cit

10. Boaden op cit pp 53

11. D.S. Byrne & W. Williamson 1971 Op cit

12. Ibid

13. Boaden op cit chapter 5

14. J. Eggleston op cit

15. Bleddyn Davies op cit chapter 12

16. See Blalock Theory Construction Wiley 1968

17. These indices are derived from the proportion of the population over 25 in 1961 who left school at 15 or less. The mean value of that for males is 75.4 and for females 77.7%. Given the very strong interrelationship between educational experience and occupation in this country, the use of these two indices is a good way of avoiding the problems posed by combining white collar and skilled manual occupations as in the Registrar General's social class group 3.

18. See Byrne & Williamson op cit.

19. See K. Land 'Principles of Path Analysis' in E.F. Borgatta (Ed) Sociological Methodology American Sociological Association 1969

APPENDIX A

SOCIAL CLASS AND EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES: ZERO ORDER CORRELATION MATRIX

	(all values r^2)					
	High S/C	Low S/C	d rate p/p	Per cap ex.	ex.	attain.
High S/C	-	0.5765	0.2985	0.3232	0.1200	0.6586
Low S/C	0.5765	-	0.3308	0.2636	0.1298	0.5202
d rate p/p	0.2985	0.3308	-	0.2710	0.2300	0.4121
Per cap ex.	0.3232	0.2636	0.2710	-	0.3386	0.4412
Pooled Sec. ex.	0.1200	0.1298	0.2300	0.3386	-	0.2498
Attain.	0.6586	0.5202	0.4121	0.4412	0.2498	-

APPENDIX B1

Index	Source
a) Social Conditions & L.E.A. characteristics	
1. o/o Free school meals of those taking school meals	I.M.T.A. Education Statistics 1969-70
2. Housing overcrowding (i.e. proportion of population in dwellings at 2+ per room)	1966 Census
3. Housing amenity (i.e. proportion of households with exclusive use of hot water, fixed bath and inside W.C.)	1966 Census
4. Population Density	I.M.T.A.
5. Industrialisation Index (i.e. proportion of total rateable value represented by Industrial hereditaments)	Constructed from 1970 Dept. of the Environment rating returns.
6. Population size	I.M.T.A.
7. High social class (i.e. proportion occupied adult male population in socio-economic groups 1-5)	1966 Census
8. Low Social Class. (i.e. proportion occupied adult male population in socio-economic groups 7,10,11,15)	1966 Census
9. Rateable value per capita	Dept. of the Environment rating returns 1970
10. d rate per pupil	I.M.T.A.
11. Per capita expenditure on pupils for whom L.E.A. responsible	Constructed from I.M.T.A. statistics
12. % males over 25 leaving school at age 15 or less	1961 Census
13. % females etc.	1961 Census
14. Years labour controlled 1960-70	Municipal Yearbook 1970
15. % of 13-year old pupils in comprehensive schools	D.E.S. Statistics of Education Vol I 1969
16. % of 13-year old pupils in Grammar school and other selective secondary schools	Constructed from D.E.S. statistics 1969
17. % of 13-year old pupils in secondary modern schools	D.E.S. Statistics 1969

APPENDIX B1 contd.

18.	Expenditure per primary pupil on primary teachers	I.M.T.A.
19.	Expenditure per secondary pupil on secondary teachers	I.M.T.A.
20.	Exp. per pupil primary supplies	I.M.T.A.
21.	" " " secondary "	I.M.T.A.
22.	" " " primary premises	I.M.T.A.
23.	" " " secondary "	I.M.T.A.
24.	No. of 16-year old pupils as % of 13-year olds 3 years previously	D.E.S. State of Education Vol. I 1969
25.	No. of 17-year old pupils as % of 13 year olds 4 years previously	"
26,	No. per 1,000 age group University new awards	D.E.S. Stats. of Education Vol. VI 1969
27.	Similar to F.E. full value awards	"
28.	Similar lesser value F.E. awards	D.E.S. Stats. of Education Vol VI 1969
29.	Similar awards for teacher training	"

APPENDIX BII

Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1										
2	0.72									
3	-0.33	-0.40								
4	0.46	0.46	-0.54							
5	0.24	0.34	-0.48	0.11						
6	-0.14	-0.06	0.19	-0.33	-0.00					
7	-0.22	-0.25	0.15	-0.08	0.15	0.00				
8	0.19	0.42	-0.46	0.25	0.28	-0.15	-0.16			
9	-0.06	-0.22	0.11	0.25	-0.04	-0.13	0.24	-0.33		
10	-0.13	-0.36	0.23	0.19	-0.21	-0.07	0.24	-0.42	0.91	
11	-0.06	0.17	0.37	-0.36	-0.31	0.23	-0.04	-0.32	0.06	0.06
12	0.28	0.42	-0.72	0.35	0.41	-0.04	-0.05	0.50	-0.20	-0.24
13	0.30	0.48	-0.73	0.45	0.47	-0.06	-0.04	0.53	-0.14	-0.20
14	0.44	0.53	0.55	0.39	0.46	-0.15	-0.18	0.44	-0.10	-0.21
15	0.12	0.18	-0.29	0.08	0.15	-0.09	-0.22	-0.03	0.08	0.06
16	-0.24	-0.24	0.24	-0.23	-0.03	0.12	0.20	-0.00	-0.03	-0.03
17	-0.09	-0.15	0.26	-0.01	-0.16	-0.06	0.20	0.03	-0.08	-0.05
18	-0.03	-0.12	0.37	-0.39	-0.38	0.08	-0.13	-0.10	-0.14	-0.04
19	-0.08	-0.26	-0.01	-0.10	-0.14	-0.21	-0.02	-0.11	0.03	0.10
20	0.28	0.20	-0.07	-0.04	0.38	-0.01	-0.08	0.03	0.09	0.00
21	0.26	0.29	-0.30	0.26	-0.00	0.09	-0.19	0.08	-0.02	-0.03
22	-0.21	-0.21	0.00	-0.22	0.14	0.22	0.03	-0.10	0.05	0.08
23	0.03	-0.07	0.09	-0.24	-0.06	0.10	0.03	-0.02	-0.12	-0.13
24	-0.44	-0.61	0.53	-0.49	-0.41	0.20	0.21	-0.55	0.23	0.34
25	-0.51	-0.62	0.55	-0.51	-0.44	0.20	0.05	-0.45	0.14	0.26
26	0.21	0.00	0.10	0.09	-0.15	0.01	0.00	-0.19	0.29	0.36
27	-0.36	-0.48	0.54	-0.40	-0.47	0.17	0.08	-0.47	0.23	0.36
28	-0.18	-0.26	0.22	-0.19	-0.15	0.55	0.13	-0.14	-0.02	0.14
29	-0.25	-0.32	0.42	-0.43	-0.20	0.12	0.00	-0.22	0.11	0.19

APPENDIX BII contd.

Correlation Matrix

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11										
12	-0.37									
13	-0.42	0.94								
14	-0.43	0.67	0.63							
15	0.14	0.23	0.19	0.26						
16	-0.00	-0.21	-0.22	-0.17	-0.73					
17	-0.17	-0.19	-0.14	-0.26	-0.95	0.51				
18	0.63	-0.34	-0.48	-0.34	0.07	0.00	-0.10			
19	0.48	-0.14	-0.17	-0.19	0.39	-0.14	-0.43	0.30		
20	-0.01	0.02	0.04	0.16	-0.09	0.05	0.07	0.00	-0.01	
21	0.39	0.24	0.20	0.21	0.19	-0.12	-0.18	0.08	0.22	-0.05
22	0.27	0.00	-0.06	-0.06	-0.03	0.27	-0.00	0.26	0.19	-0.04
23	0.29	-0.18	-0.25	-0.16	0.20	-0.09	-0.24	0.45	0.38	0.03
24	0.50	-0.62	-0.68	-0.61	0.01	0.22	-0.09	0.42	0.33	-0.11
25	0.54	-0.64	-0.69	-0.67	-0.03	0.21	-0.03	0.45	0.29	-0.10
26	0.33	-0.21	-0.16	-0.17	0.10	-0.11	-0.09	0.03	0.12	-0.03
27	0.44	-0.58	-0.59	-0.65	-0.22	0.19	0.21	0.30	0.11	-0.14
28	0.15	0.09	0.06	-0.06	-0.18	0.09	0.18	-0.02	-0.10	-0.04
29	0.21	-0.36	0.37	-0.31	-0.08	0.18	0.01	0.18	0.05	0.11

	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
21									
22	0.13								
23	0.27	0.23							
24	-0.23	0.18	0.16						
25	-0.15	0.16	0.17	0.87					
26	0.15	-0.11	-0.06	0.18	0.15				
27	-0.08	0.30	0.08	0.62	0.61	0.33			
28	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.04	0.10	-0.05	0.02		
29	-0.24	0.10	0.03	0.43	0.55	0.17	0.50	0.14	

APPENDIX C

Rotated Factor Matrix % 10 Factors

Variable 1 0.26	0.07	-0.01	-0.09	0.22	0.29	-0.08	0.15	-0.13	-0.72
Variable 2 0.39	0.12	-0.24	-0.07	0.12	0.18	0.07	0.04	-0.14	-0.71
Variable 3 -0.79	-0.20	0.03	0.22	-0.03	0.03	-0.01	0.14	-0.01	0.14
Variable 4 0.50	-0.02	0.41	-0.26	0.05	-0.20	0.07	0.17	-0.08	-0.45
Variable 5 0.46	0.17	-0.14	-0.07	-0.04	0.46	0.21	-0.34	0.43	-0.18
Variable 6 -0.16	0.00	-0.17	0.82	0.10	-0.01	0.05	-0.28	0.01	-0.03
Variable 7 -0.06	-0.19	0.16	0.05	0.01	-0.04	-0.00	0.03	0.87	0.13
Variable 8 0.65	-0.15	-0.36	-0.19	-0.04	0.06	-0.04	0.10	-0.13	-0.00
Variable 9 -0.13	0.07	0.91	-0.07	0.08	0.09	0.10	-0.06	0.11	0.02
Variable 10 -0.19	0.04	0.92	0.04	0.14	-0.00	0.02	-0.00	0.04	0.13
Variable 11 -0.42	0.09	-0.07	0.19	0.34	-0.02	-0.69	-0.15	-0.06	0.03
Variable 12 0.90	0.14	-0.09	0.13	-0.03	-0.02	0.06	-0.05	-0.00	-0.04
Variable 13 0.91	0.10	-0.04	0.10	0.02	-0.02	0.14	-0.00	0.04	-0.09
Variable 14 0.69	0.20	-0.02	-0.01	-0.13	0.19	0.15	-0.04	-0.11	-0.28

APPENDIX C Contd.

Variable 15									
0.13	0.96	0.05	-0.06	0.03	-0.02	-0.15	-0.02	-0.06	-0.00
Variable 16									
-0.11	-0.73	-0.06	-0.01	0.01	0.10	0.03	-0.31	0.09	0.22
Variable 17									
-0.11	-0.91	-0.01	0.09	-0.05	-0.03	0.17	0.09	0.04	-0.06
Variable 18									
-0.48	0.04	-0.18	-0.00	-0.06	0.06	0.57	-0.10	-0.27	-0.01
Variable 19									
-0.04	0.30	0.08	-0.29	0.09	-0.02	-0.68	-0.01	0.04	0.33
Variable 20									
0.06	-0.09	0.08	-0.01	-0.04	0.88	-0.06	0.01	-0.02	-0.12
Variable 21									
0.30	0.04	0.08	0.11	0.26	-0.21	-0.54	-0.21	-0.17	-0.35
Variable 22									
-0.01	-0.09	0.08	0.09	-0.09	-0.00	-0.24	-0.85	-0.02	0.15
Variable 23									
-0.18	0.15	-0.13	0.10	-0.18	0.09	-0.74	-0.06	0.13	-0.07
Variable 24									
-0.71	0.09	0.12	0.02	0.15	-0.03	-0.15	-0.14	0.10	0.44
Variable 25									
-0.67	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.16	-0.01	-0.19	-0.09	-0.08	0.53
Variable 26									
-0.17	0.08	0.22	-0.01	0.84	-0.02	-0.04	0.11	0.03	-0.11
Variable 27									
-0.63	-0.18	0.16	0.04	0.36	-0.12	-0.04	-0.25	-0.10	0.27
Variable 28									
0.08	-0.16	0.13	0.87	-0.08	-0.02	-0.13	0.15	0.03	0.22
Variable 29									
-0.34	-0.03	0.01	0.12	0.03	0.38	0.07	0.00	0.21	0.54
ROTATED PERCENTAGE VARIANCES									
21.04	9.58	8.15	6.35	4.85	5.06	8.51	4.71	4.37	9.25

APPENDIX D

The Multiple Correlations

$R^2$24.1-23	=	0.89
$R^2$25.1-23	=	0.78
$R^2$26.1-23	=	0.48
$R^2$27.1-23	=	0.70
$R^2$28.1-23	=	0.85
$R^2$29.1-23	=	0.37
$r^2$24.8	=	0.31
$R^2$24.8,12,13	=	0.52
$R^2$24.1-5	=	0.51
$R^2$24.18,19,22,23	=	0.24
$r^2$24.10	=	0.12
$r^2$24.11	=	0.26
$R^2$24.10,11	=	0.35
$R^2$24.10,11,18,19,22,23	=	0.40
$R^2$24.15-17	=	0.11
$R^2$24.10,11,15-19,22,23	=	0.47
$R^2$24.1-5,10,11,15-19,22,23	=	0.73
$R^2$24.1-5,8,10-19,22-23	=	0.75
$R^2$24.1-5,8,10-13,15-19,22,23	=	0.74

EDUCATION - A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INVESTMENT

by

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GLAMORGAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND CHANGE IN EDUCATION - A WORKING CONFERENCE

EDUCATION - A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INVESTMENT

It is my intention in this paper to describe some of the problems facing the Project area and to suggest an educational approach to these problems.

A Paper on Education must inevitably centre around and focus on the formal provision of services peculiar to the section of the community which forms this group. For this reason, the bulk of this Paper consists of a description and assessment of services provided by the many sections of the County Education Department, but a perusal of the Paper will show that the interest of the Project in this area goes much deeper and is spread more widely than this.

The first task is to justify the interest of the Project, nominally concerned with 'community development' in 'Children and Young People'.

If it is true, as Ottoway claims

> 'that education depends on the total way of life of a society',

then the kind of education provided will be different in different societies. The study of these differences is the field of comparative education, and as defined is of only marginal interest to this report. It also follows, however, that the education provided within any society is likely to change as the society changes. Wilbert Moore summarises the peculiar feature of contemporary societal change as follows:

a) For any given society or culture rapid change occurs frequently or rapidly.

b) Changes are neither temporary nor spatially isolated - that is, changes occur in sequential chains rather than as 'temporary' crises followed by quiet periods of reconstruction, and the consequences tend to reverberate through societies.

c) Since contemporary change is probable 'everywhere' and its consequence may be significant 'everywhere', it has a dual basis.

d) The proportion of contemporary change that is either planned or issues from the secondary consequences of deliberate innovations is much higher than in former times.

e) Accordingly, the range of material technology and social strategies is expanding rapidly and its net effect is additive or cumulative despite the relatively rapid obsolescence of some procedures.

f) The normal occurrences of change effect a wider range of individual experience and functional aspects of societies in the modern world - not because such societies are in all respects more 'integrated' but because virtually no feature of like is exempt from the expectation or normality of change.

Thus, Moore emphasises both the normality and the interdependence of change in modern societies, while at the same time pointing out the hazards of social life in an age when procedures that are appropriate for a task today are inappropriate tomorrow.

Goslin agrees with this view:

'In the light of these characteristics of our society, many of the pressures and counter pressures on education become more understandable. Because of their dual functions as agents of both innovation and social control, schools occupy a uniquely central position in a developing society. Educational institutions have had forced on them the task of preserving that delicate balance between stagnation and chaotic change. The school is expected to train members of the society to think creatively and to provide them with the skills necessary to continue to create change, while at the same time inculcating a cultural heritage based upon adherence to existing names and traditions'.

A number of theories have been advanced in an effort to provide a better understanding of the dynamics of social, economic and cultural change. Whatever form of social change (basically either cyclical; step-wise or exponential curve theories) is postulated, it is fairly well agreed that change results from the operation of a few major factors, including the influence of innovations or alterations produced by individual members or institutions of the society, the amount of contact with other cultures, and the size of the cultural base produced by the first two factors. It was remarked earlier that modern society is characterised by rapid social and cultural change that effects all parts of society, although at varying rates. It appears further that western industrialised

society, Wales included, is in a period of accelerating technological change, although it is not clear how long this will last. There can be little doubt that the present rate of change has been produced by the interactive effect of the three variables mentioned above (innovations, culture contact and the culture base), combined with such 'natural' change agents as a plentiful supply of resources.

Many of the problems caused by social and cultural change result from the fact that all parts of the society do not change at the same rate, either because new information and techniques take longer to reach and influence some parts of the society than others or because some groups within society hold beliefs that tend to make their members more resistant to change. To the extent that differential diffusion of change is a universal characterisitic of complex societies, a continual state of tension or stress created by varying rates of change is also a characteristic.

Goslin claims that the educational system plays a critical role in mediating between the culture of the society and its members. In this process, the school is expected to be both conservative and creative, a preserver of tradition and a destoryer of outdated beliefs. Because of its location along with the family at the very centre of the socialisation process, the success of the school in performing its often contradictory functions may turn out to be the factor on which the question of the ultimate health of the society may turn.

Every society must make some provision for allocating individuals to the various positions in the society where they will perform the roles necessary for its continuation and development. As the school has taken over from the family a greater share of the responsibility for socialising the young, it has also become the focus of many of the child's activities. The performance of the child in school serves therefore as one of the most important early measures of his ability and energy. With the rise of mass education, the school functions as an integral part of the process of status allocation in three main ways:

(a) By providing a contest in which the individual can demonstrate his abilities.

(b) By channelling individuals into 'paths' that lead in the direction of different occupations or classes of occupations.

(c) By providing the particular skills needed to fulfill the requirements of various positions.

This report will attempt to assess the appropriatness and efficacy of the strategies adopted by the organisations concerned with the macro-educational process in the Upper Afan Valley.

Clearly, almost any aspect of social life may be considered to have a bearing upon education and preparation for life by a society for its young members. The Community Development Project has accepted the philosophy that a general raising of the levels of self-support of individuals in the community will itself by a key factor in community development, particularly relating to an expected disappearance of some of what are commonly known as 'social problems'. For this reason, the main concern of the Project in the 'Children and Young People' area is the appropriateness of the general educational system in the valley to the context of job/employment opportunities in the wider society.

Historically it appears that the settlements in the Upper Afan Valley (constituting the Glyncorrwg Urban District) have displayed many of the features of what sociologists have called the 'closed but integrated' society. Protected by comparative geographical remoteness, and supported economically by the existence of easily mined coal, life has traditionally been for males an accepted progression from birth, through school, to employment locally in coal mines or ancillary industries, and thence retirement. A parallel course for females substitutes domestic work - marriage for local employment. In this situation, it is possible that education (or 'going to school') has been regarded by the community as a 'resting place' between trauma of birth and the trauma of heavy manual work or the trials of married life. Until recently, this may have been an appropriate attitude, allowing for the 'escape' of a small portion of the population to professional-type posts out of the area. In 1966 82% of the employed persons in Glyncorrwg Urban District were in Social Class III and IV (skilled and semi-skilled workers) compared with 62% nationally, while in the managerial, professional and adminstrative categories (I and II) the area had 7% compared with 20% nationally. Even as late as 1968, roughly 75% of local male employment was in mining and quarrying.

However, following the run-down of mining in the valley, and the eventual closing of the last pit (Glyncorrwg South Pit) in 1970, opportunities in the mining industry have diminished rapidly, and although there are still some men employed in neighbouring valley, the number of new entrants to the industry is minimal.

The Upper Afan Valley current situation can only be understood in the context of policies being applied to those areas adjacent or near to the valley. 'Wales the Way Ahead' made very clear in 1967 that substantial valley communities should not be encouraged to disintegrate further. The panacea was to be growth-point policy. Growth-point policy has encouraged the concentration of public and private investment at certain nominated areas in the locality, notably the Port Talbot/Bagl[illegible] Bay complex, the Swansea Bay complex, Bridgend and more recently the Llantrisant complex. The bulk of the industrial employment in the area is to be found in these places, and other facilities - commercial, recreational, educational etc. - also tend to be similarly located. At the same time, although regional government policy has been to concentrate such investment at these fixed 'growth points', provision was to be made in the mining valleys, from which the working population for the growth point industries was to be drawn, for employment for those people living in the ex-mining communities who could not, or found it difficult, to travel a distance to work - mainly disabled miners and others, working mothers etc. A key element in this socio-economic hypothesis was the public and private transport system - in simple words, growth point policy depends in the final analysis not only on the existence of a length of tarmac or railway line between the growth points and the servicing communities, but also on their opportunities and/or propensities to use it.

In the Glyncorrwg Urban District case, 'growth point policy' appears to have failed in a number of ways. The Report on the economic viability of the Glyncorrwg community, prepared by the C.D.P. Economic Consultant explains in what ways and why in great depth, but in summary the area has basically failed to attract the investment which was to provide lasting employment for those wishing to work in the valley, and this has been added to by the failure of in particular the public transport system to accommodate the much-changed needs of the Glyncorrwg Urban District population. Additionally, the national economic situation has been an important factor, being allegedly responsible for the loss of about 200 jobs in the one substantial factory located in the valley.

There is, consequently, a high unemployment rate in the valley; depending on which calculation method is used, in January 1972 the effective rate was somewhere in excess of 20% However, the general pessimism about employment in the area resulting from national and regional policy must not obscure the fact that education has a key part to play in community development in the area.

This report will describe the existing facilities and opportunities in the educational field for the population of the Urban District and will attempt to assess not the quality of provision and and facilities, but rather the appropriateness of provision and facilities in the light of the changed wider society in which the Glyncorrwg population is living.

The model which the Project has accepted for the Urban District community has been described as open but integrated community - in this the settlements have largely been transformed (both physically and socio-economically) but retaining the traditional vitality in a new shape. New associational bends are formed which brings the community into sophisticated and efficient relationships with other communities and organisations, but the community as such still retains its identity in much more than a purely geographical sense.

In this model, education in its widest sense has a vital part. Those concerned with policy decisions and executing and administrating those decisions need to be made aware of the changed situation and its consequential changed requirements. Parents must be acquainted more broadly with the world of education in the light of the changed situation, and encouraged to regard education as a key factor in this new model for community development. The Teachers and the taught must be involved in an appropriate educative process for this changed situation, and the key factor here must be the amalgamation of community and school to encourage not the hallowed 'escape' of the few through qualifications and migration, but rather the realisation that significant opportunities do exist both inside and outside the immediate community which can be obtained without physically 'leaving'the valley in a domiciliary sense. A single effort aimed at education can obviously not be wholly effective, and the Project's involvement in all the other fields of community life - personal mobility, investment, housing and environment, health and welfare, job-getting and holding capactities etc - are all inextricably compounded in this model for community development. A broad definition of the aim of community development in this context could be to help people in a community exercise increase control over their lives, including enlarging their opportunities in directions which they themselves see as desirable. This, then, must be the direction in which the educational provision of an area such as Glyncorrwg Urban District should be pointing.

A brief description of the Glyncorrwg Urban District

For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the area with which this Paper is dealing, there follows a brief description of some of the demographic features of the area.

At the end of the basically descriptive section, there is a short appreciation of some of the problems that the Glyncorrwg Urban District is facing as a result of some of the past and present policies applied by regional and central government as well as decisions taken by nationalised industry and utilities.

It is only from a recognition and understanding of these problems that any attempts at 'community development' can hope to succeed in any but the most superficial and short-term way.

Glyncorrwg Urban District lies at the top of one of the steepest valleys in Wales, the Afan Valley. Its two arms, which split at Cymmer, end in Glyncorrwg village in the north, and Aber/Blaengwynfi in the east. The Urban District is roughly triangular in shape, its area being 13,927 acres. To give an indication of distance, from Glyncorrwg to Cymmer is three miles, and from Cymmer to Blaengwynfi is also three miles. To the south of Cymmer are the two smaller settlements of Duffryn Afan and Cynonville, the latter again being about three miles from Cymmer. The boundary of the total U.D. is approximately 25 miles. A pen-picture of the area is of high forest covered hills surrounding small settlements which have grown up around the mines and road systems. The houses are typically quite old six-apartment stone or brick terrace, with newer council housing erected at different periods - in the Croeserw estate near Cymmer, at Glyncorrwg village, and in the Aber/Blaengwynfi valley.

Population:

In 1970 the population of Glyncorrwg U.D. was 9,330 a decline from the 1965 figure of 9,530 of 2.1%. Over the same period the population increase in England and Wales was 2.6% and for Wales alone 1.4%. Thus despite a relatively high rate of natural increase Glyncorrwg has suffered a decline in total population mainly due to a persistently high outward migration.

Population density is lower than that ofGlamorgan and the rest of Wales. In 1969 the figures were as follows: Glyncorrwg - 1.5 per acre; Glamorgan 2.4 per acre; Wales 1.8 per acre. On population change, the Welsh Office notes: "Generally, the change in population was switched from one of positive change per annum in 1961-66 to one of net loss in 1968-69. Migration, although a net loss in 1961-66 is now three times greater per annum in 1969".

The following tables summarise the situation:

Population in Glyncorrwg and Glamorgan - 1921 - 1969

GLYNCORRWG U.D.	1921	1931	1939	1951	1961	1966*	1969
	10,771	10,203	9,244	9,240	9,368	9,458	9,360
GLAM.	1921	1931	1939	1951	1961	1966	-
	1,252,481	1,229,065	1,173,930	1,202,581	1,229,728	1,236,305	-

(* Unadjusted Census Figure).

Population Change in Glyncorrwg U.D. 1961 - 1969

	1961-66	1966-68	1968-69	1961-69
Total Change	+ 121	0		+ 10
Change per annum	+ 24	0	- 120	+ 1
Natural increase	+ 458	+ 191		+ 719
Nat. inc. p.a.	+ 92	+ 95	+ 70	+ 90
Migration	- 332	- 193		- 713
Migration p.a.	- 66	- 97	- 180	- 89

(Source: Registrar General's Home Population Estimates)

As far as an age and sex structure is concerned, there are certain peculiarities summarised in the following table:

Population Structure: Analysed by Age and Sex

	MALES		FEMALES	
	G'corrwg	Glam.	G'corrwg	Glam.
0 - 1	27.1	24.6	29.2	22.0
15 - 44	41.0	40.9	39.9	38.0
45 - 64	23.6	24.8	15.7	25.2
65+	8.3	9.7	15.2	14.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1966 Census

There is a noticeably low proportion of women in the 45-64 age group, but the proportion of young people, particularly those from 0-14, is high.

Population projections in terms of total numbers of people have been prepared by the Welsh Office for the period 1981-1991. The relevant figures for Glyncorrwg and Glamorgan are shown below.

Population Projections 1981-1991

	1970	1981	1991
Glyncorrwg	9330	10099	10810
Glamorgan	1,259,200	1,30 1,290	1,354,320 (These are 1968 based).

These forecasts are based on past trends and assume that these will continue; although this may not be the case, forecasts can only be based on the best information available. The forecasts do appear optimistic in relation to past performance. The population projection of 10,810 will assume a reduction in net migration. The increase of 1,480 over 20 years allows, in fact for only a marginal annual increase in total population.
As no age/sex projections are available, the 1966 structure applied to the 1981 and 1991 projections produces the following structures.

Population Projections: Analysis by Age and Sex
Glyncorrwg: 1981 and 1991

	Males		Females	
~~0---44~~	1981	1991	1981	1991
0 - 14	1338	1433	1507	1613
15 - 44	2025	2167	2059	2204
45 - 64	929	994	810	867
65+	647	692	784	840
	4939	5286	5160	5524

Source: Compiled from Welsh Office Data.

To summarise, the present estimate is that the population of Glyncorrwg, at present 9,330 will rise by approximately 1500 over the next twenty years, an average annual increase of 0.8 per cent. For this position to be reached migration will have to be reduced from its present leve. Between 1965 - '70 the population fell by 200 people despite a natural increase of 260, this being offset by a net migration loss of 560.

As a final point on population, the infant mortality rate for the area is high. In terms of infant mortality per 1,000 live births, the 1968 figures are as follows:

Glyncorrwg - 49; Glamorgan - 21; Wales - 20.

Social Class

The figures reproduced below from the 1966 Sample Census indicate that Glyncorrwg U.D. has a proportationately fewer people in the Class II category (basically lower professional and administrative (categories) and proportionately more in the Class IV category (semi-skilled) than the United Kingdom sample as a whole. The other categories are very comparable in their proportions.

Social Class	Glyncorrwg U.D.	Percentages United Kingdom
I	1	3
II	6	17
III	45	45
IV	37	22
V	9	8
Not Classified	2	3

Source 1966 Census.

Housing and Household amenities:

Comparative figures for Glyncorrwg U.D., Glamorgan and Wales are as follows:

	G'corrwg U.D.	Glam.	Wales
Total dwellings started 1969-'70 per 10,000 people	12	21	24
Private dwellings started 1969-'70 per 10,000 people	0	1	2
Percentages of houses lacking basic amenities	50	38	36
Houses completed in private sector per 10,000 people	0	16	17

Transport and Communications

As will be shown later, employment is now closely linked with transport and communications, both within the valley and btween the valley and the wider region.
In relation to the major growth point areas of South Wales coastal strip, Cymmer is some 20 miles from Swansea, 10 miles from Neath, 10 miles from Port Talbot, and 15 miles from Bridgend. In addition, the Rhondda Valleys are within ten miles or so from the area. Railway lines between the settlements in the valley and these growth point areas were withdrawn co-incidentally with the pits, and the bus services which were meant to compensate for the loss of the railway lines are by no menas adequate. The road systems themselves are perfectly adequate but the use made of them is limited, with a limited car ownership and poor bus service, but there is a great potential for the growth of private and public mobility.

Employment Patterns

The area has been traditionally based on mining and the subsidiary trades and services connected with mining. As early as 1811 there are reports of mining being carried out in the parish of Glyncorrwg (whose boundaries coincide with the U.D. now).
Mainly steam coal was mined except for the anthracite pit at Glyncorrwg village. This was the last of the thirteen pits to close, and at the time of the closure in May 1970 employed 550 men. Two other pits closed in the 1965 - 1970 period, the Duffryn Rhondda which employed 937 men, and the Avon at Blaengwynfi which employed 451 men at the time of closure.
In 1969, mining employed overhalf the male working population:

Miners as a percentage of total labour force (male):1969

Glyncorrwg: 57% Glamorgan: 22% Wales: 11%

The growth record of Glyncorrwg in employment terms in the past decade has been a black one, as the table below indicates:

Growth of employment 1959 - 1969:

	1959	1969	Percentage Change
Glyncorrwg	3,241	1,944	- 40%
Wales	928,000	936,000	+ 0.9%
Great Britain	21,565,000	22,600,000	+ 5.0%

Source: Dept. of Employment.

With the closure of the last collieries since 1969, this position has deteriorated.

The main employers in the area as at May 1' 71 are shown in the following list:

Glamorgan Education Committee.
Forestry Commission.
Glyncorrwg U.D.C.
Book-binders.
British Railways.
Cooperative Retail Services.

In addition two new firms began operations in 1970, but they are small in labour force they employ.

With the loss of the coal industry, the majority of job opportunities for people living in Glyncorrwg are increasingly being provided outside the immediate area. The largest employers are the National Coal Board, for whom 534 men from Glyncorrwg were still employed in 1971, and the British Steel Corporation at their Port Talbot works, who employ 277 people from the Glyncorrwg area. In addition, a number of people from the area are employed by a car transmission factory near Pyle, and for construction work at Baglan Bay. This illustrates the increasing significance of travel-to-work and the greater emphasis placed on personal mobility through private or public transport.

The changes that have taken place in the employment patterns of the Glyncorrwg U.D. area, largely as a result of the decision of two key nationalised industries - the N.C.B. and British Rail -to withdraw from the area, but also because of the application of certain policies, particularly'growth point' to the wider area, has deep implications. These points will be expanded on later in this Report.
The Economic Consultant to the Project, Jeremy Alden, concludes in his report on 'Economic Opportunities and Potentials for the Glyncorrwg U.D.':

"....an inevitable conclusion must be that the community has experienced in recent years, and at the present time, a relatively low level of economic activity and exhibits many of the characteristics of a depressed area in economic terms.

The community has been undergoing a rapid transformation in its economic base in the past two years: five years ago coal-mining employed over half of the economically active residents , whereas today this figure is approximately a fifth.

Despite the present symptoms of economic depression (with a current figure at the beginning of March 1972 of in excess of 20%) and under-utilisation there are signs that future prospects will enhance the prosperity and vitality of the community. The demand for labour in the Port Talbot sub-region shows signs of expanding quite significantly over the next few years, and with improved transport facilities, higher opportunities, the community should have a higher level of economic activity.

The effect of expansion is cumulative, success breeds success. While expansion outside the community should enhance economic activity within the community, a strong case appears to exist for stronger measures in regional policy to help Glyncorrwg overcome its initial problems. This Special Development Area requires only a small amount

of industrial development for the cumulative process of economic growth to be established.

As many communities, throughout the world have found, the transition from economic depression to economic growth is a relatively slow process; for Glyncorrwg the momentum of this process has already gathered pace in relation to linkages with adjacent urban centres, although within the community itself economic prospects are not good".

The principal findings of the economic consultant can be summarised as follows:

Glyncorrwg has experienced a relatively low level of economic activity in the recent past, and has exhibited characteristics of a depressed area in economic terms. Nevertheless, there are signs of greater opportunities and vitality for the community in the future.
Whereas over half the labour force of Glyncorrwg were employed in the coal industry five years ago,today the figure is approximately one fifth. Further, over the past decade employment within the community has fallen by 40%, whereas positive growth has occurred in Wales as a whole and in Britain generally.
Over the past decade the population of Glyncorrwg has not increased at all. The community has experienced persistent net losses in migration. Household amenities in the community's housing stock are poor, although the opportunities and provisions for improvement are considerable.
Job opportunities for people living in Glyncorrwg are increasingly being provided outside the community, while present transport facilities are not conducive to economic growth and appear to restrict job opportunities for people living in the community. While Glyncorrwg has been a relatively 'closed' economy in the past, it is becoming increasingly more 'open' and less self sufficient.

In conclusion, it is true that the indices which brought the Community Development Project to Glyncorrwg were largely 'unfavourable', as is amply illustrated in the statistics, research and findings outlined in the past few pages. Many residents and their elected representatives reacted strongly against the description of the area as socially deprived'.

This phrase implies a variety of personal deficiencies, illustrated in an ability to cope with social problems reflected in delinquency, children in care, suicide etc., but there is no evidence that this picture is more true of Glyncorrwg than of other industrial communities.- indeed it is probably less true. The general picture is of closely-knit villages, although not all are the same, with some villages more fragmented than others, and the large post-war housing estate does not exhibit the corporate feeling of the older villages.
Nevertheless, all the villages came into being through coal mining, and despite the pit closures the industry's economic and social legacy in the valley is still very much in existence. The structure of social and welfare institutions was built around the work pattern imposed by mining. Miners' lodges and political parties were directly involved in many aspects of community life.
Similarly the links between education and the mining industry were implicit - the logical progression was from birth to school to mining to retirement. Very few males 'escaped' from some employment connected with mining or the ancillary industries, while most females became miners' wives, sharing many of the tensions andprivations of mining employment.
This highly organised system of local self-help has largely disappeared since the war. Direct community involvement, particularly in the area of welfare services, has largely disappeared and this breakdown of local organisation has been reinforced by pit closures.
This picture of an 'opening-up' of a closed, integrated oommunity, and the socio-economic opportunities and constraints resulting from policies applied externally to the area has implications for the total educational and other provision for children and young people in the community.

THE SCOPE OF EDUCATION

A familiar view of education has been traditionally briefly as follows:-

Children begin to learn about surroundings from the moment they are born; formal organisation to promote a child's learning only become necessary when the amount of information he is going to need as an adult exceeds that which he can pick up casually within his immediate circle. The traditional concept of the school is at its most simple-minded, a place where teachers teach facts - the three Rs as a beginning - and pupils learn them. The 'facts' have multiplied the number of academic 'subjects' proliferated, but the idea of the school as essentially a pedagogic or dilactic institution has been prevalent.

This simple view of the school has changed radically in recent years. The changes have come about largely as a result of an increased knowledge of human nature, and the consequent revision of views of education and child-rearing which the knowledge initiated. Two of the most important of these developments are in psychol-dynamic theory stemming from Freud, and in the greater insight into how learning can be promoted which we are to the learning theorists.

The educator, in accordance with the aims he accepts, attempts to develop the personality of the child and to prepare him for membership of his society. This dual function of education corresponds to the double role a person has to play in life, both as an individual and as a member of society. The activity of education is partly a set of practical techniques for instruction given in schools, colleges and any institutions established for the purpose of what is called "formal education"; from a community point of view, it is impossible to restrict education to this narrow use, and make it equivalent to 'schooling' or the teaching of a certain body of subject matter. Rather, schools and all educational institutions in society attend to the development of character and personality by means of their social life, games, participation in drama, music and the visual arts, and all kinds of out-of-class activities, all of which is considered a part of a programme of education. This is not to mention the educational experiences gained through membership of a family, a peer group or a variety of formal or informal clubs and other organisations.

Within this framework, the concept of the school is enlarged; it becomes an institution, not set apart from the rest of society for a narrow, specific purpose but one which cannot fail, for good or ill, to have a major impact on the nature of that society.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION - A model for action

Recognising the problems of an area such as Glyncorrwg U.D., both social and economic (although many would claim the former stems from the latter) and accepting the scope of education as briefly described above it would appear that education and all the agencies and individuals (particularly the schools and parents) involved in education have a most significant part to play in the solution of many of these problems, or at least a countering of some of the worst effects of these problems.

The underlying theme of the approach of the Community Development Project is community schooling. Pre-empting the criticism of many who would comment that some of the measures supported by the Project were at best marginally inclined to community schooling, and at worst inclined to an encouragement of elitist education, the reply would be two fold:

A. A progmatic approach incorporates an element of caution and conservatism. It is an acknowledged fact (by the Gittins Report amongst others) that, despite being a country conscious of educational values and not short of teachers, Wales has not advanced so rapidly as England in education method and content. This would appear to apply particularly to rural and other isolated areas, and Glyncorrwg could justifiably be included in the latter, not least because of the very isolation. Unlike the two English areas which appear to be leading the field in community schooling - Liverpool and Coventry - the Glyncorrwg area has neither the administration nor the teachers committed to this comparatively revolutionary ideal - "softly, softly - catchee monkey".

B. Although the community education model in its true sense may well be appropriate in inner-city taype of areas where the desperate need is for a larger emphasis on 'social education' as a means of community regeneration, the Glyncorrwg Project

B. (Continued)

has not lost sight of an unemployment rate in the Valley having around 20%, nor of the inappropriateness of some of the educa:ion for the children who will need to obtain employment in new industries in the growth point areas as no alternative appears likely - community schooling is most inappropriate in the absence of a community.

Notwithstanding this, it is hoped that the Project will be able to pilot test approaches in community schooling specifically geared to 'declining' valley communites which may be of replicative value in other similar communities.

It is hoped to test approaches in two areas:

1. Community education has many definitions, but most tend towards an 'open' as opposed to a 'closed' school, with a more intensive usage of plant by the community in evenings and during holidays, and usually some pattern of parental participation. This would in all probability be welcomed by the community and one would hope, by the schools. Specific ways of approeaching this will be recommended later.

2. It is also possible that the broad curriculum i.e. what schools are actually doing, needs re-appraisal. There is a very real danger of community education being the same system as before, with a different name and image.

Community education is traditionally seen and accepted as a legitimate method of achieving harmony between schools and the community they serve. The philosophy of C.D.P. is communal regeneration for the resolution of some of the social problems that beset residents.

The pouring in of palliatives, in resources or services, from outside is not sufficient, indeed without active participation of the local residents such interventionist policies lose much of their point. A natural aim, therefore, for a system of community education might be the education of children to be the next generation of parents, votes and citizens in the neighbourhood in the hope that they will conceive of creative responses to some of their own problems; this in addition to more adequately and appropriately preparing them for employment in the immediate or near vicinity.

The Community School thus presupposes a social role for education, and in turn this might equally apply to the curriculum. In areas such as Glyncorrwg social and economic issues are frequently as important as, and often more so, than basically literary or numerary.

This is the essential difference between community education and compensatory education. This latter assumes the correctness of a uniform system and attempts to lubricate it where, as in E.P.A.'s and C.D.P. areas, it appears inefficient. In the abscence of an alternative or even the propensity to act in an alternative way, this is acceptable, but the net aim is educational passports out of the area for a few more lucky ones, which in effect does little more than dilute the majority.

This social purpose should be encouraged to become more implicit in the curriculum. One difficulty is that, so extensive and successful has been the massive modification of method in a lot of schools over the last twenty years, that many educationists think the educational revolution is over. There has not, however, been a similar radicalism in content, and revolutionary methodology has disguised the sterility of much of the substance of education. This can be summarised by saying that there is some awareness that the common curriculum may not be wholly suited to children from areas such as Glyncorrwg. What perhaps is needed is a long look at subjects - nevermind 'a new approach' to maths. Can maths be justified in its own right, and if so can it be justified every day of the school year? Even the supposed 'integration' of subjects can mislead. Many curricular activities are justified in terms of 'interest' but interest is method, not aim. The child does need to be interested to be educated, but the reverse is not necessarily true. Everything could be made 'interesting' if enough effort and methodology were devoted to it; what is necessary is a vigilant inspection of content to ensure it has social purpose.

A principle goal for a community school, both at primary and secondary level, might be the familiarisation of the child with his immediate environment, 'warts and all'. Schools and teachers sometimes reject this, attempting in a compensatory way to confront children with suburban culture. When this approach is aligned with a pyramidal educational system, with everyone

entering for the same rewards, but only a few obtaining them, it may possibly add up to little more than a training for frustration - broadening children's horizons may in fact be achieving little more than a temporary almost schizophrenic change.

Conversely, if the bulk of the effort were concentrated on the majority who will be 'mere' citizen/parents, as opposed to the few who will be college students, it may be more productive. Social education - the exercise of social skills on related social materials - would take precedence, and even in the short term might, in Professor Halseys compelling phrase 'raise the heights of their dilemmas'.

In this model, the teachers roles would become more one of guide in the art of choice and taste; many teachers already agree that studies should be locality based; for some it is merely an expression of child-centredness, while many accept the common sense point of using easily sought and convenient sources. An area such as Flyncorrwg, with its exciting legacy for its industrial past, is a ready-made laboratory and workshop for social education, just as are the inner city areas of Liverpool.

The community oriented curriculum has three possible subsidiary advantages, beyond the prior, long term hope for a higher level of civic participation, implicit in the philosophy of C.D.P.

First it is likely that, given a socially oriented content children will do as well and possibly better in traditional attainments, simply because the exercise of their reading, writing and so on will be directly geared to their experience. This pre-empts the criticism of social education that 'academic' prowess may suffer.

Secondly, the child is likely to be dignified by the acceptance that education can be about him and his environs, that he is an historical character in a geographical situation with social, spiritual, technical and other problems. Much of current curriculum content may imply that education is not of the child's world.

Thirdly, parental involvement and support for curriclar experimentation is likely to be enhanced by a socially relevant curriculum, in that their own experience, occupation, insights etc., would be material evidence.

There are two strong arguments against the community oriented curriculum which have to be met. One argument is that a community curriculum for so-called 'deprived' area helps to enforce the deprivation or create a proletaria enclave.
This ignores, however, that the broad aim of the education side of the Project is two fold, firstly to involve the schools more in the community, thus making the curriculum more socially relevant and encouraging more active participation by all concerned, and from this moving secondly to a more appropriate training for the local employment opportunities, which will inevitably involve a raising of general attainment levels through a more appropriate, relevant curriculum. This is a two-fold improvement on the present system where, in general the cirriculum is both irrelevant to the community in which the children live, and largely irrelevant in terms of job opportunities.

The other argument is that a community curriculum for deprived area schools indicates a second-class sort of education, a reversion to the Victorian two-tier system of one education for the rich and one for the poor. It has been argued that this induces the child to accept his fate patiently and fails to stir him to a challenge of fresh or new horizones. This is justified suspicion, for it was a long struggle to establish earlier in the century education for all at all levels. This ideal still underlies the community school approach, but it is recognised that, implemented as a system, it has failed to work, largely because social background and environment have proved such a crucial element in educational performance. Far from being a recipe for resignation, a community based education stretches children intellectually and creatively, on the social issues that confront them.

In summary, it is an outward looking attitude not a introverted one. From the stable base of understanding his own locale and the forces acting upon him and his community's destiny, the child can look outwards to wider frames of reference.

This, then, is the model for a community education system. However, it would be totally unrealistic to assume that such a theory is likely to be adopted wholesale by an authority, its schools or its teachers in particular who have been trained and experienced in another set of methods and approaches.

This is particularly true of the education system at present serving the Upper Afan Valley communities for reasons which can be elaborated on later in the open discussion. Nevertheless, what must be done is to attempt to involve all involved in education in the area to accept the general model as one more suited to the present day requirements of society, and then to experiment with a variety of approaches which will approach the ideals of the model to varying degrees.

In summary, if this Project accepts 'social and political investment' as an integral part of community development, education is believed to be a most significant component of this process of investment. The now largely inappropriate educational model to which schools in the area are working mainly be default must be adjusted to take account of radically changed circumstances. The only sure way of making this adjustment is by a process of education of the educators and the Project must involve the whole community - parents and teachers alike - in this. In turn, the only sure way of achieving this is through a community education approach tailored to the peculiar circumstances of a Welsh ex-mining community.

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For information:

(A copy of the brief to which the Project is working).

GLAMORGAN/GLYNCORRWG COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

STATE OF THE COMMUNITY REPORT

ISSUE NO. 2 CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

BRIEF FOR REPORT

SUMMARY

A. INTRODUCTION - THE RELEVANCE OF THE 'CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE' TO THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT.

B. QUESTIONS TO WHICH ANSWERS ARE NEEDED.

C. A PROPOSED OUTLINE OF THE STATE OF THE COMMUNITY REPORT ON CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

If it is true, as many concerned with the sociology of education claim, that: "education depends on the total way of life of a community", (Ottoway: 'The Sociology of Education'), it is equally true that education, in the broader sense of the term, has a unique part to play in the social change considerations with which the Project is concerned.

Further, sociologists emphasise both the normality and the interdependence of change in modern societies, while at the same time pointing out the hazards of social life in an age when procedures that are appropriate for a task today are no longer appropriate tomorrow. Modern societies are thus characterised by rapid social and cultural change that affects all parts of society. Western industrialised society (including Wales) has been in a period of generally accelerating active effects of three variables - innovations, the amount of culture contact, and the size of the cultural base produced by the first two factors - combined with such 'natural' change factors as a plentiful supply of resources.

Many of the problems caused by social and cultural change result from the fact that not all parts of the society change at the same rate, either because new information and techniques take longer to reach and influence some

parts, or because some groups within a society hold convictions that tend to make their members more resistant to change. To the extent that differential rates of diffusion of change is a universal characteristic of complex societies, a continuous state of tension or stress is also a characteristic.

It is hypothesised that the broad educational and socialisation system plays a critical role in mediating between the society and its members. In this process, the educator is expected to be both conservative and creative, a preserver of tradition and a destroyer of outdated beliefs. Because of its location along with the family at the very centre of the socialisation process, the success of the school in particular in performing its contradictory functions may be the factor on which the ultimate health of the society may depend.

With this in mind, the state of the community report will attempt to assess the appropriateness and effectiveness of the strategies adopted, intentionally or by default, by the agencies and organisations concerned with the macro-educational processes in the Upper Afan Valley.

B. QUESTIONS TO WHICH ANSWERS ARE NEEDED

1. An important requirement of the Project in all of the areas in which it advocates adjustments or new practices will be an evaluation of the effectiveness of these changes. With this in mind, what 'tools' are available for evaluating the community's educational objectives, and evaluating the realisation of those objectives?
   More specifically,
2. What provision exists for peri-natal and infant development and care? How does this provision relate to the demand and requirements of the community? What are the local and national contexts into which this provision fits?
3. What provision is there for pre-infant school children? How does this provision relate to the demands and requirements of the community? What is the local and national context?

4. What provision is there for primary school education? How does this provision relate to the demands and requirements of the community? What is the national and local context?

5. What provision is there for secondary education? How does this provision relate to local demands and requirements? What is the local and national context?

6. What provision is there for formal education beyond the statutory school-leaving age? How does this provision relate to local demands and requirements? What is the local and national context?

7. What is the objective of formal education in the area as seen by:

    a. Parents;
    b. Employers;
    c. Teachers;
    d. The L.E.A. and its officers;
    e. Children.

8. How do these views of the objectives of education relate to each other?

9. How does the organisation, methodology and content of formal education in the area relate to these objectives, and how appropriate is the education provided in the context of socio-economic policies such as 'growth point' policy?

10. What provision is there for remedial and special education in the area, and how does this provision relate to considerations such as those in 9. above?

11. What is the nature of the relationship between the homes, the schools and the wider community? How does this relationship relate to current thinking and practice?

12. What are the attitudes to formal education of the groups nominated in 7. above? How are these attitudes expressed in concrete terms - e.g. for children in terms of 'drop-out' rates and absenteeism, and for teachers in terms of extra-curricular involvements etc.

13. What provision is there for careers guidance and help, and assistance in obtaining employment? How does this relate to 6. above? How does this relate to 9. above? How aware are those responsible for education and training in the area of the opportunities and constraints resulting from the application of various policies by local, regional and central government?

14. What factors are at play in determining the type of person attracted or otherwise by teaching in the area? What facilities and provisions are there for in-service training and general professional support for teaching staffs in the area in terms of resources, teachers centres, advisory staffs etc.? How relevant and effective is this provision?

15. What part is played by teacher training in the area? Has teacher training a greater potential in unorthodox ways in the area?

16. What provision is there for children and young people out of school hours by formal and voluntary agencies and organisations? How does this provision relate to local demands and requirements? What other agencies might be prepared to take part in this type of provision? How best may an integrated approach to this provision be made?

17. What provision is there for adult education in the area? How does this relate to local demand and requirements? What agencies may be prepared to become more involved in this field?

18. A common consideration in all of the above questions is the problem of personal mobility in an area not well served by either private or public transport. Often this is inseparable from the main question - e.g. absenteeism and home school travel within the statutory limits; the problems of teachers without their own transport in getting to in-service training courses.

19. What are the environmental factors in children's health and development?

C. A PROPOSED OUTLINE OF THE STATE OF THE COMMUNITY REPORT ON CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

It is proposed that in the first instance a fairly intensive peice of descriptive analysis of the various services provided for children and young people in the Upper Afan Valley be undertaken. This would be combined with some initial evaluation of these provisions in terms of their appropriateness in the context of the changed and changing wider society facing the communities in the valley. Finally, a model educational system will be suggested, with some recommendations as to how this model may be approximated to by all those concerned with the educational process in the community.

1. The descriptive part of the Report will attempt to provide some of the answers to the questions listed in the previous section. It is appreciated that the list is too long and each question too complex for the Project to answer each question except in a fairly superficial and descriptive way, given the available manpower, funds and time. Q.7 and 12 for example would each require a major research project if they were to be adequately answered.

2. This description will facilitate a delineation of some of the strength and weaknesses of educational and other provision in the area so that resources can be channelled to the areas of greatest need. The evaluation involved will only partly provide this delineation, but out of it those involved might more surely locate areas worthy of and needing special attention and further research.

3. The Community Development Project has hypothesised that one of the main factors underlying the existence of 'social problems' in the area has been the failure of the community (and the failure of the policy makers to adjust in response to this failure) to adequately adjust to certain socio-economic policies being applied to the wider region, notably 'growth-point' policy. This has had implications for the general level of self-support in the community, and the philosophy of the project is that a general

3. (Continued)

raising of the levels of self-support will in itself be a key factor in 'community development' particularly in encouraging the disappearance of some of the 'social problems'. For this reason, one of the major concerns in the 'Children and Young People' issue is an evaluation of the appropriateness of educational provision in the valley in the context of the employment and other opportunities and constraints resulting from 'growth-point' policy.

4. In this context, the Report will indulge in some philosophical 'model-building', the model being basically that currently described as 'community education', but with variations to take account of the peculiar problems of an isolated community as opposed to an inner-city community. It is believed that this model, with its emphasis on community participation, and the use of the community as a learning base, is one towards which education in the area might profitably move. The model outlined, and some of the ways of approaching it, might therefore serve as a basis for discussion by those involved in formal and informal education in the area, as well as those involved in out of school provision.

5. Lastly, the Report will suggest a number of concrete 'action' proposals, in addition to describing some of the 'action' measures already initiated under the auspices of the Project. Some of the recommendations, particularly the more philosophical ones, are implicit and contained in the text, but a summary of the recommendations, both general and specific, will be made at the end of the Report.

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PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS AND EDUCATIONAL PRIORITY AREAS

by

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PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS AND EDUCATIONAL PRIORITY AREAS by C J C Yates and J L Sword

Henry was a member of a family of 11.
The father's work (when in spasmodic employment) took him away from home and the mother was largely indifferent to the children's welfare. Her only apparent interests were Bingo and the local betting shop and she would pawn free clothing and use housekeeping money (even order several pints of milk daily to re-sell round the neighbourhood) to raise ready cash for bets. Rows upon the father's return were frequent over the enormous accumulation of bills (on one occasion an H.P. firm were about to reclaim furniture which the mother deliberately smashed not knowing her husband had settled the debt).
Their house was dirty and in frightful neglect and the children were unhappy exhibiting a gloomy disposition and indifferent attitude in school. Henry found that being placed in care (after a minor theft) was a better proposition and this led to all members of the family committing deliberate thefts at around 10+ and hanging around to be caught.

The mother of Billy and Fred was subnormal and entertained a string of 'uncles'. The two children often witnessed overt sexual behaviour and were resentful of the men friends and unpleasant (even violent) incidents were frequent. Fred exhibited periodic violent outbursts in school when he would attempt to wreck the classroom, attack teachers with window poles and rush around randomly, alternatively screaming and pouring forth fluent streams of expletives. He was always abjectly apologetic afterwards. This was diagnosed later as brain damage but its untensified behavioural manifestation undoubtedly had its cause in unhappiness and frustration. The younger boy exhibited some sexual peculiarities and interfered with girls outside of school producing on one occasion a long representation of parents.

Harry was one of 17 children (there was a brother or sister in every class of the local Primary school and the family was equally well represented in the neighbourhood Secondary school). They lived in a decaying Victorian terraced house with broken window panes and cardboard substitutes and the paint on the front door had deteriorated down to the rotting wood. The father was crippled and virtually confined to a wheelchair and the mother's eventual answer to limiting the family was to remove the father's crutches and to sleep upstairs with the female sector. They seemed naively happy and clashes with the police occurred almost accidentally (there were a few cases of removing lead roofing but only from partly demolished properties seen as 'fair gain'). On one occasion the family erected a monumental bonfire and even slept in it in turn on guard. On November 5th, the resultant holocaust proved a danger to nearby houses and there were angry scuffles with firemen arriving to dismantle it. There was neglect in the family due to ignorance - the children were ragged and untidy and poorly fed. Milk and free dinners were the major source of nourishment but the children were happy in the school and blissfully indifferent to work. They were virtually a group of 'primitives' out of step with Twentieth Century life.

The names are fictitious but the stories are true and by no means extraordinary in the context of slum areas in major cities and industrial connurbations. Philosophical analysis (of all endeavours) might be thought of as being at the furthest possible remove from such practical situations. It is our purpose to try to demonstrate in this paper that (properly conceived) it is of great practical usefulness and that it is certain other kinds of approach lacking analytical precision that in fact focus the attention away from the realities of the situation.

What has philosophy to offer these children in their prisons of circumstance ? It depends on what one thinks philosophy is. Someone is beaten down by the waves of life's mischances; and he whispers to comfort himself, or he cries defiantly that it is a long road that has no turning. Someone not so unfortunate has a ready stock of saws and proverbs, and whenever he trots them out he is admired for his "philosophy of life". These activities are not philosophy but piecemeal attempts to adjust to adversity, to assuage anxiety for the time being, to reinforce a homespun stoicism.

With people in such straits we must have sympathy; and for their misuse of the term 'philosophy' we must forgive them. It is more difficult to sympathise with ahd far harder to forgive the onlooker who is sufficiently better off to be able to applaud from safety the stoicism of the distressed.

There are other misuses and abuses of the terms. A newspaper editorial recently castigated those who look on road accidents "with the philosophical view that we must accept the rising death rate". In 1970 the Conservation Society issued a pamphlet setting out its "Philosophy, Aims and Proposed Action". Out of some 1380 words, 71 clearly do not deal with aims or proposed action. These 71 words communicate thoughts on the greed of man and the alleged ulterior motives behind political inaction.

Historically, there is no difficulty in tracing the popular degeneration of the terms 'philosophy' and 'philosophical' to the point where the man in the street and his putative intellectual betters use them to describe any unanalytical but vaguely thoughtful frame of mind. Philosophy as an activity is not the imputation of motives or the uttering of homilies, and the philosopher is not to be recognised as the one who blandly watches the slaughter on the roads; but very strong objections to these popular slanders and libels would be in the nature of picking a fight with harmless and ignorant bystanders.

What, however, are we to say about writers on educational theory who misuse terms in the same way as the uninformed outsider? It was, of course, only a matter of time before the philosophy of life, the philosophy of road accidents and the philosophy of ulterior motives would be followed by the philosophy of E.P.A.s. The first appearance of this new philosophy that we have noticed is in the form of Occasional Paper I, "Educational Priority Areas: the Philosophic question", published by the Liverpool Educational Priority Area Project, 1971, and written by Docter E. Midwinter. In this paper there is a good deal of recounted fact and recent history, and there is some thought-provoking argument. There is no philosophy.

The only use of any term connected with the title of the paper occurs on page 6: "Philosophically, schooldays are the happiest days". That schooldays are the happiest days of our lives is a common enough, and often untrue enough, platitude; but in what way philosophically? No doubt, when one looks back, those days either were the happiest days or only appear to have been in the light of adult responsibilities and burdens. To say either is to state an uninteresting truism. Fond reminiscence is not philosophy; at any rate, not in a paper on educational theory.

What else in the paper is intended to be philosophy it is difficult to see; but there is much that is symptomatic of an unanalytical but vaguely thoughtful frame of mind. What is worse is that some of it is dangerously close to being the kind of "philosophy of life" talk that is uttered by the fortunate bystander commenting on the plight of the unfortunate: we have already forgiven those who give vent to adjustments to adversity; but some of the unanalytical, vaguely thoughtful passages are adjustments to someone else's adversity.

"Deprivation is relative" it is ununalytically but vaguely thoughtfully claimed, on page 5. Relative to what? Deprivation is certainly relative to possession or enjoyment of. What follows? Nothing explicit, so we must assume a suppressed suggestion. Are the onlookers to take comfort from relativity in the proverb, or is it suggested that the sufferers might benefit from learning it off by heart? The sufferers already know it: E.P.A. subcultures are plenums of shared awareness of the relative deprivations endured; and their common experience of resentment, jealousy and aggressive indignation is not assuaged by saying that the depriviation has some unspecified relation to some unspecified other condition that they are not suffering from. Deprivation has the same relation to possession or enjoyment of as negative has to positive or as minus has to plus. There cannot be slight, severe, extreme and total deprivation: there can be only total deprivation. To talk as though deprivation were the name for a range of degrees between a plenum and a vacuum is to commit the fallacy of reasoning by sorites. Starting from the premise that a man with no hairs on his head is bald, one counts upward in ones. At what point can one hair be added to some number in order to say that a man is not bald? Starting at what is agreed to be a plenum, or even a plenitude, and

subtracting agreed small quantities of goods or benefits, at what point do we subtract one and say that deprivation has occurred? If one punishes a child by depriving him of half of his free time, one has totally deprived him of that half: the child is not partly deprived of the whole of his free time. Deprivation is not a degree of some positive quality; and if it were, then to attempt to say exactly when it occurred would be to commit the sorites fallacy. Deprivation is the opposite of possession or enjoyment of. The mistake in calling deprivation "relative" is more than a logical mistake in a philosophical argument in this context: it is not philosophy at all as it is recognised in the trade; and there is the danger that "deprivation is relative" may be read as "deprivation is merely relative".

On the same page, page 5, we are told that there is a "richness in the E.P.A. subculture". Richness of what? To one who was born in, has lived in and has taught in a deprived area "plethora" is a more suitably morbid metaphor if we must do without analysis. Even if "richness" is a handy metaphor for some quality of life in an E.P.A. as a communication of meaning (surely something desirable in what is claimed to be philosophy), with no conclusion drawn from it, it is at least jejune.

Again on page 5, we are told that in E.P.A. areas "The aplomb with which infants park and 'mind' cars.....is....much admired". Now what on earth can be the point of making the totally unbelievable claim that infants park cars? Surely, not even philosophy can increase the length of infant legs or shorten the distance to motor car clutches? What if infants do mind cars? Are we expected to assume that in E.P.A.s there is some mysterious quality of self-confidence? In the E.P.A. area where our car is sometimes parked, the children will either "mind" the car or wreck it: you take your choice and you pay your money. The non-philosophical point is that this is commonly known as a "protection racket".

Our objection is not merely to the misuse of the term 'philosophic' in the paper, irritating as this is in writings that claim to be philosophy. When they are not uttered by the man in the street, homespun proverbs and paradoxes about the richness of deprivation are less than informative and

worse than philosophically illiterate. The acceptance of platitudes leads to a dangerous habit of taking the "whole-view" attitude to serious problems that require analysis if their true nature is to be seen.

The old saw that it is a long road that has no turning seems to say something about life's events only when it is accepted as an accurate description of life as a homogenous and necessarily connected series of causes and effects. It is a whole view of what should be looked at analytically, if we want more than cosy comfort from our thinking and talking. The view, if it is taken in order to decide what to do to provide practical assistance and benefit for someone else, is distorted at best. Literally, roads do not turn or fail to turn according to length; and figuratively, neither do the roads through life. Talk about the richness of deprivation is exactly the same as talk about long roads. These paradoxes are euphoric whole views that block the way to analytical examination. This is a good thing, when Job finds it a comfort amidst inexplicable ill fortune; it is quite something else when his comforters argue that it is philosophy offering the best it has to offer. The fact is that it is <u>not</u> philosophy.

It is too easy to take some unexamined aspects of life in E.P.A.s to be compensation for what is uncritically called "relative deprivation". The tempting next step, unerringly taken by the homespun philosopher, is the idea that these so-called compensatory aspects imbue the whole culture with an unspecified but vaguely desirable or even enviable quality. Thus, the car-minding threat first becomes a sign of enterprise; then enterprise is claimed to be a quality of life in the E.P.A.; and, finally, the sub-culture as a whole is claimed to be valuable in itself because it generates desirable qualities. The "whole-view" attitude has been adopted. It is then possible to call deprivation relative and rich, and to talk about reinforcing the characteristics of the sub-culture. The whole view allows a liberal expenditure of wordy tokens without any reckoning of their cash value. While this kind of spending spree goes on, it is not noticed, for instance, that enterprise is not in itself valuable morally or socially but must be judged by the kind of action that it informs.

On page 8 Doctor Midwinter writes of the "wholesome and dynamic community life" of E.P.A.s. It seems to us that at this point he has ossified in the "whole-view" attitude. That which is wholesome promotes physical and/or moral "health", it is salubrious. That which is synamic is potent, active. Seen from the whole-view position, E.P.A.s offer is life-style that is active and potent and promotes moral and/or physical well-being. Thus, the conclusion to what passes for reasoning in the whole-view, vulgar, philosophy-of-life syncretism must be that we need more of the conditions that create E.P.A.s. Any other conclusion is not a conclusion at all but a contradiction. One thing that the asking of "philosophic question" is not, when one is engaged in respectable philosophy of education, is the failure to ask analytical questions.

"Educational Priority Areas: the Philosophic Question" asks no question and is not philosophic.

Having therefore looked at what philosophy is not, having furthermore seen that the global approach of a sweeping prescriptivism is particularly inadequate and unhelpful in E.P.A. considerations, it remains to say briefly what philosophy can do and to undertake a more realistic and genuinely philosophical enquiry into this particular educational context.

Philosophy has been described as a "second order activity", the philosopher frequently sees himself (after Locke) as "an under labourer in the garden of knowledge...clearing away rubbish" and there are few philosophers today whose conversation goes far without bringing in terms such as 'analysis.... meaning...clarification....making sense' and so on. It is above all an activity; sometimes a demolition job on an unsound conceptual structure, and sometimes a journey mapping out the "logical geography" of a known or unknown linguistic territory,[1] sometimes an exploration that leaves everything as it is. The kind of activity it is is essentially linguistic and conceptual, either an exploration of terms we use in ordinary language or of the appropriateness of more technical talk. It asks, as Professor Joad was so fond 'what do we mean by?' but does not stop at definition[2] The preoccupation of philosophy with language is (certainly) not that of the grammerian, the linguist, the lexicographer or the student of literary style. In a sense philosophy probes not only into language but beyond, into the gaps between

language and the world of objects. We conceive of problems, we perceive objects and to a very, very large extent our conceptions (and perceptions too) are what they are because of the language we use. To look (philosophically) at our language is to see at least part of ourselves and certainly much of our culture. "What counts for us as the world depends upon our conceptual scheme" is the way A.J. Ayer put it [4], and a totally different view of things is held by widely differing religious groups, by specialists and non-specialists, by those on the inside and by those on the outside. Inhabitants of a society where events are attributed to magic, groups such as the Hopi Indians whose language contains no means of reference to past or future can have little common ground for discourse with ourselves enmeshed in a conceptual linguistic framework drawing strongly from Newtonian physics (even at the man in the street level). Piaget has pointed out that the child's world differs from the adults because of a difference in conceptual structure. These differences are at rock bottom conceptual. Concepts however are not locked away in private isolation; they find expression in a public language, and it is this essentially that is the philosopher's raw material.

Part of the problem at least of the training of teachers for work with the 'socially deprived' is <u>how</u> should the problem be seen. It seems that there are enormous consequences either for classroom procedure or for social action in the provision of a conceptual scheme at the college of Education level (The either-or above begs part of the question). Despite what William Taylor has called 'the re-education of teachers' ("Forget all that stuff you learned at College") something of initial training, at least in some individuals, can be reasonably presumed to have an effect. So, what kind of conceptual scheme is best put before trainee teachers of the under priviledged? A course could be predominantly sociological aiming at an understanding of social environment through interactions of specific sub groups and the like. It might be thought an understanding of individual differences and learning difficulties should be over-riding and therefore psychology should form the major part. A third kind of course with a curricular-linguistic approach would place another different emphasis - that on understanding subject matter and of providing teachers with and ability to re-structure material with

independence and awareness. In turn these conceptual schemes could lead to the compensatory education problem being seen in very different ways, political action perhaps or the possibilities for cognitive awareness via immersion into subject matter. Social environment might be a necessary consideration under one, a contingency through another.

1. cf. Gilbert Ryle: The Concept of Mind

2. Israel Scheffler points out in The Language of Education that definition is of a least three kinds.

4. A.J. Ayer, Metaphysics and Common Sense.

As an important 'aside', we must stress that it is quite possible to be involved in compensatory education with aims that do not include the social context. Mass literacy schemes in underdeveloped countries are very much a matter of "getting on with the job of instructing", the job being the business of learning. J.P. White has put forward a basically similar idea in New Society.

A consideration prior to the training of teachers is how do those already in the field (or those like ourselves who have been very much involved in the past with teaching in 'down town' areas) actually envisage the problem. Perhaps the key to the best kind of conceptual scheme with which to equip the teachers of the future lies in an examination of the language in which the problem is currently expressed. There is a sense in which "philosophy leaves everything as it is" (Wittgenstein). This examination does not set out with philosophical heavy hammers at the ready for deliberate demolition nor with any already sharpened axes. If it finishes up leaving the situation in its already existing state, then this has not been a futile exercise. One does not regard a 'check up' at the doctors as futile when at the end there is reassurance that nothing is wrong. There is a sense in which a linguistic exploration can alter nothing. A field trip is none the less valuable because the map plotted does not alter the landscape. An exploration of "logical geography" simply 'maps out'. Our business is clarification, not prescription.

Turning then to the broad terms in which the situation is labelled, we find such phrases as 'cultural deprivation', 'social deprivation', 'linguistic deprivation', 'cultural, social and linguistic handicap', 'disadvantage' (social, cultural and linguistic again) and from this, two clear sets of words emerge.

1.	deprivation,	disadvantage,	handicap
2.	social,	cultural,	linguistic

The words in group 1. are not altogether synonymous and it is a necessary starting point to plot points of resemblance and non-resemblance, particularly of non-resemblance for differences of meaning and usage have significance for-

(a) how the 'problem' is to be seen

(b) how (consequently) we might equip future teachers

This we hope will become plain in the following analysis.

A point of resemblance is that two of these terms are implicitly valuative and normative. To be deprived or disadvantaged is not a description of a state of affairs but a subtle value standpoint. We are entitled to ask 'deprived of what?' and 'disadvantaged in what way?' and possible answers could vary depending upon the value standpoint in question. Does the educationist make these judgements that something of value is lacking qua educationist, qua member of the middle class qua representive of the liberal democratic outlook or qua what? It makes all the difference. Are the children deprived of a meaningful perspective on life through lack of knowledge and skill, of semi detached villas gardens and trips to the seaside or of equality of opportunity as a social principle?

The term 'handicap' is not so much a value judgement and one could question its appropriateness in this context. To appeal to the ordinary language uses of the word. We talk of a handicap in a race or game and the handicap in question is very much part and parcel of the rules involved. The word is also used in a medical sense but it would seem that here the use is metaphorical, employed out of deference. It is preferable to consider someone confined to a wheelchair as 'handicapped' rather than crippled and the use of 'mentally handicapped' is a more kindly reference to a state of affairs than the harsher

terms employed in the past. If we talk of a child as being 'handicapped' by his environment, then it follows that we either mean-
in sense (i) akin to a horse in a race, that he is under temporary disadvantage and has every chance of winning through by his own efforts
or in sense (ii) being "kind" by a metaphorical employment of sense (i) to disguise an unpleasant (perhaps irrevocable) state of affairs that we cannot really do much about it so we talk condescendingly about his situation. Neither possible sense is satisfactory. (i) suggest more the 'pulling up by one's shoelaces', the individual "success story", 'rags to riches' and the like where the concern is with all children in the situation and also with the importance of education.

(ii) is plainly too pessimistic.

This follows from using the techniques of philosophical analysis. One might counter such analysis with "I've never thought of it in that way and have used the term 'handicap' for long enough, quite happily, without meaning anything of what had been said". However these associations outlined above are there in the concept of 'handicap' and the danger remains.

To return to the terms 'deprivation' and 'disadvantage', it can be seen that there are with these distinct usage differences. We can be deprived of many things - food, love, sex, attention, pleasure, money, possessions, education and so on through an almost endless list of nouns. Whilst a person is deprived of, he would be disadvantaged in a situation which might be a game or a social position. So 'deprivation' seems to lead on to questions about what is lacking, disadvantage appears to pose problems concerning situations.

It can be seen further that this distinction raises separate sets of questions. If we add adjectives (group 2. above), we come nearer to the grass roots of the 'problem'. 'Social deprivation' can be seen as deprived of (certain things that society might have to offer) whilst 'social disadvantage' can be seen as occupying an unfavourable position (in a society or social strata). We have stressed earlier that to use a term such as 'deprivation' is to make

a value judgement about something that ought not to be lacking. Therefore we need to be clear both on what are our value judgements (the terms 'deprivation' and 'disadvantage' call for specification) and to distinguish between whether particulars are lacking or whether the situation is wrong. It can be seen that many questions arise.

Further, is the linguistic position a matter of 'deprivation' or 'disadvantage'. Does the 'restricted code' use in fact 'deprive' or 'put at a disadvantage'? It might be seen to deprive the user of a richness and variety of thought and idease or it could be seen alternatively to put him in a disadvantaged situation (in relation to the class structure for example).

Incidentally, it can, we hope, now be seen that it is contradictory to champion the use of the restricted code and talk about deprivation in the same context, or to praise the culture of the E.P.A. and still retain the use of social or cultural deprivation.

It is perhaps apposite to mention the very word 'problem'. Dorothy Emmet has pointed out that it is in itself 'normative'.

"....that juvenile delinquency is seen as a <u>problem</u> is a problem about 'norms' in the society concerned. 'Problem' here generally means a question calling for a practical solution and not only establishing what is the case, which would be a problem in the theoretical sense. The problem of juvenile delinquency is not just the <u>incidence</u> of juvenile delinquency...."

Concern is with the E.P.A. 'problem'. It is <u>fair</u> to ask 'who makes the assumption of 'problem'? The educator (education seen as self evidently valuable)* or the social reformer? Solutions could be vastly different.

We hope in this analysis to have shown that the terms used beg further questions and that it is insufficient to employ them without being aware of how they function as linguistic tools. The E.P.A. 'problem' is not just the <u>fact</u> of sub-standard houses etc. neither are deprivation and disadvantage statements about situations. They depend upon a value position which needs to be spelled out by those employing the terms and we accept that 'ought' questions will vary.

* Emmet, D. <u>Rules Roles and Relations</u> (Macmillan) pp 21-2

It seems that there is a danger in using these words as if they convey information. Our contention is that they are uninformative and that the interesting questions to ask is what (in relation to deprived of) and how (in relation to disadvantaged) which compels giving quite specific answers.

It is interesting to note, finally, that the rose-tinted, candy floss approach ("wholesome and dynamic community life") cannot be reconciled with 'problem', 'deprivation' and 'disadvantage'. In all consistency, Dr. Midwinter and others should cease using these terms or is what is wrong sets of middle class values in their view. In that case ought society at large to become one huge E.P.A. in which we could all benefit? This is a good enough example, we feel, of the need for clarity and for philosophical analysis.

Our conclusions are therefore-

1. Philosophical analysis has considerable practical consequences; that it is a necessity to 'spring clean' our own conceptual schemes and to recognise the very terms we use for the job they do.

2. The holistic approach (which is not philosophy) is misleading and distorts the 'problem' by offering a tidy overall picture and that Dr. Midwinter has provided a paradigm example of this simplistic distortion.

3. It is all too easy to use certain words as if they convey information when in fact they demand that further information (of value standpoints) be given. 'Deprivation' and 'disadvantage' in particular are two of these.

4. To think clearly about the further information demanded (of: conclusion 3) (which involves statements of what is seen as bad, unfavourable etc and which also calls for clarification of purpose) will suggest practical steps. The same prior clarity will also suggest the kind of conceptual equipment with which trainee teachers ought to be provided.

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THE CLASSROOM BEHAVIOUR

OF SOCIALLY - HANDICAPPED BOYS

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THE CLASSROOM BEHAVIOUR OF SOCIALLY-HANDICAPPED BOYS.

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The paper seeks to clarify the concept of troublesome behaviour in school, with particular reference to 'culturally deprived' boys of primary school age. It is usually assumed that such boys will be 'naughtier' than their peers. Certainly teachers find life harder in neighbourhoods with many social problems. Chazan and Jackson (1971), using Stott's six 'pointers' (1966) showed that more 'Deprived Area' children of 5-6 years are found to have aggressive behaviour problems than settled working class or middle class controls, but the actual numbers with such problems were relatively small (11% of boys in deprived area, 5% in the controlled areas). Chazan and Jackson quote an unpublished study by Booth and Barnes (1969), who used the scale devised by Rutter (1967) on city centre children in three schools and found an incidence of 'maladjustment' of 38.3% in boys and 29.4% in girls, compared with 2.4% in a control school: more antisocial than neurotic behaviour was found. Analysing by father's occupation rather than area, Kellmer-Pringle et al (1966) found a strong social class gradient in behaviour problems as rated on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guides (Stott, 1966).

These results indicate, as would be expected from anecdotal evidence, that deprived areas and lower socio-economic groups have higher numbers of children with problems of behaviour. This is only a first step. The Schools' Council project from which Chazan and Jackson's paper arose will go on to investigate individuals and subgroups within their areas. Such research will indicate the behaviour patterns specific to children from various strata within, for example, a 'deprived area'. The further step beyond that will be to investigate the relationship between parental handling and child behaviour within sub groups. So far the most valuable research in this field is the longitudinal study of a working class sample of boys in London, being conducted by Drs. Gibson and West, (West 1969). This project seeks to identify the strands of family background and child behaviour which are linked with delinquency. In doing so, a major contribution has been made to our understanding of behaviour in children from strata within the working class; too often studies merely divide children into 'middle' or 'working' class, or at best they contrast one working class area with another. The project on which the present writer has been engaged is

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also an attempt to separate our 'layers' of family types within a deprived area, and to show the heterogeneity of what is often thought of as a single subculture.

Because there is some parallel of area and age group between the Gibson and West study and our own, it was possible to investigate classroom behaviour using their short conduct scale, which has been described as sampling 'naughtiness' (Gibson, 1964, 1967). Dr. Gibson kindly gave permission for this scale to be used. Since our sample was small and spread over 17 schools, it was possible to ask teachers to complete an additional longer scale devised by the author. In this way the intercorrelations of the Gibson and West Scale could be investigated, and inter-group differences explored. The results enable us to clarify what is meant by 'bad conduct' in a particular group, which we will later identify as socially handicapped. (See below). The London study presents data interprated as showing that 'socially handicapped' children are more badly behaved, (West, op.cit.P.69). That finding was partly based or the Gibson and West Conduct Scale. It is hoped that our data will enable this interpretation to be made more exact.

The Sample.

The project is concerned with 56 families known to the Social Services Dept. in a large Midland city. These will be termed 'focus' families. All but one of these families have five or more children, all but four live in sub-standard housing and all live in 'twilight' central areas of the city. 29 of these families were chosen as have a 10-11 year old boy, one of the two target age groups: the other is 6 - 7 year old boys, who will not be used in this paper. For each boy two comparison boys were chosen: these lived in the same localities, attended the same schools and were, like the focus boys, of non-immigrant origins. One comparison boy was selected as having low social-handicap, the other as having moderate social handicap. The focus boys were regarded as respresenting severe social handicap, (see below).

'Social handicap' is a term which requires more definition than this paper will attempt. Briefly, we may define it operationally as the class of family attributes which are negatively correlated with cognitive test scores in children, excluding aspects of adjustment and family dynamics. The London Study has used the same term, but a different means of rating it, (West, op.cit. p.67). In the present study social handicap was quantified by means of a simple scale using

scores from five items: social class of father's occupation (Registrar General, with chronic unemployed grouped as unskilled), size of family, attendance record and reasons for absence, condition of child's clothing, and degree of parental contact with school (the last two items were rated by the teacher). The focus boys were also scored on this scale: five of the 10-11 year old came in the 'moderate' range but are included as severely social handicapped on the grounds that their family history consitutes a more valid indication of this than does the short measure of social handicap. The remainder were all in the 'severe' range of social handicap. An independent random survey of 389 non-immigrant boys in the same neighbourhoods showed that the three social handicap strata-low, moderate, sever - comprised in round figures 40%, 30% and 30% respectively. The focus boys are located mainly towards the more severe end of the severe social handicap group.

The following is a summary of ages and numbers and some cognitive test results. The comparison groups were slightly unbalanced in numbers due to the inclusion of some comparison boys originally selected as 'spares'.

Table 1.

		Comparison Groups.		Focus Group.		Analysis of Variance.	
		Low Social-Handicap. Mean.	S.D.	Moderate Social-Handicap Mean.	S.D.	Severe Social-Handicap. Mean.	S.D.	F.	P.
	Age (mos.)	128.32	4.62	129.60	5.62	128.45	4.34	0.60	N.S.
1	Vocabulary	94.55	12.02	89.27	13.14	82.28	11.81	7.19	<.01
2	Reading	87.52	16.74	82.33	11.33	81.66	13.19	1.55	N.S.
		N = 31		N = 30		N = 29			

Notes.

1. English Picture Vocabulary Test 2, scaled score.

2. N.F.E.R. Sentence Reading Test 1, scaled score.

It will be seen that the low social-handicap boys have ability test results in the national average range, but that their reading is well down (confirmed by the Vernon test). This result is interesting, but in this paper it will be left without comment.

The Social Behaviour Rating Scale (S.B.R.S.)

This is a 49 items scale developed by the author on a factor analytic basis. All items are five point scales. Scoring is in terms of six subscales: Anxiety, Behaviour Problems (Extraverted), Behaviour Problems (Introverted), Competence, Demand for Attention from Adults, and Extraversion (or Sociability) towards Children. For simplicity these are abbreviated to A, B(1). B(E), C, D, E.

Items in scales A,C,D,E are scored 1 - 5, and totalled within their subscale. The A Scale consists of six items covering such traites as fearfulness, worry, being upset by change and so on. The C Scale has 12 items sampling reliability, self-sufficiency, perseverance, motivation to do well, imagination, and other trends related to competence in the classroom. The D Scale taps the degree of demand for attention from adults, and the E Scale the extent to which the child is sociable, popular, accepted by peers. Items are expressed in behavioural rather than abstract terms.

The items in Scales B(1) and B(E) have a similar format, but are scored differently. They are composed of the opposite poles of 17 items, each representing the continuum from assertive naughty behaviour to withdrawn, inhibited, over quiet behaviour. An example of the scoring system for one such item appears below:

Does he 'play up' ?

(1) x	(2) x	(3) x	(4) x	(5) x
Frequently acts in a silly or provocative way.		Occasionally high spirited, willful or silly.		Subdued, or in other ways not at all inclined to such things.

The numbering by each x did not appear on the actual scale. The teacher, as in all 49 items of the S.B.R.S. had to ring one x. In the case of this B (1) B (E) item, positions 1 - 3 were scored 3-1-0 towards the B(E) scale, positions 3-5 were scored 0-1-3 towards the B(1) scale. Some items were not scored in this symmetrical way, since a weighting was assigned to each position based on the opinions of independent judges as to the degree of naughtiness or over quietness represented by each of the five positions. No extreme scored more than 5 towards its respective scale.

The Gibson and West Conduct Scale.

This is an adaptation of an instrument used in the National Survey or Health and Development (Douglas, 1964). It is reproduced in West (1969, pp. 150-1) and summarised by Gibson (1964) as having these 9 items; truanting, difficult to discipline, not concerned to be a credit to his parents, noticeably dirty and untidy, lazy, difficulty with peers due to aggressiveness etc., seriously distractable, not specially good at anything, outstandingly bad in at least one activity. The items are scored on a weighting system derived from their loadings on a principal component analysis. This scoring system was communicated to the writer by Dr. Gibson. For the remainder of this article, this instrument will be called the Conduct Scale.

When completing this and the S.B.R.S. teachers did not know the basis on which boys were selected.

Results.

The scores of all subjects were expressed as standardised scores with a mean of 50 and standard deviation 10. Because the focus boys represent an 'abnormal' group within their neighbourhood, the standardisation was based on the statistics of the pooled comparison samples, with each sample given a weighting so that the pooled statistics represent the 70% of the boys in the neighbourhood who have social handicap scores in the low or moderate ranges. Thus the new mean and standard deviation estimate the parameters of the population from which the comparisons were drawn, rather than just the pooled comparison groups.

The table on page 6 summarises the results of simple analysis of variance:

Table 2.

Means, standard deviations and significance of differences.

	Comparison Groups.				Focus Groups.		Analysis of Variance.	
	Low Social-Handicap. M.	S.D.	Moderate Social-Handicap. M.	S.D.	Severe Social-Handicap. M.	S.D.	F.	P (d.f.2,87)
A	48.26	10.45	52.47	8.63	54.62	8.90	3.47	< .05
B(1)	50.48	10.37	49.30	9.29	50.28	12.23	0.10	n.s.
B(E)	50.06	9.74	49.93	10.50	54.52	18.87	1.05	n.s.
C	51.97	10.03	47.33	9.45	43.83	10.75	4.78	< .05
D	48.97	9.95	51.43	9.89	56.03	12.73	3.11	< .05
E	50.42	8.84	49.47	11.56	44.59	11.90	2.39	n.s.
Conduct	47.2	8.2	53.8	11.2	61.7	13.4	12.44	< .001

The notable point here is the very highly significant difference between the groups on the Conduct Scale, contrasted with the insignificant difference on the S.B.R.S. B(E) Scale: if the Conduct Scale measures 'naughty' behaviour, the B(E) Scale should have shown a similar difference, since it is constructed especially to sample acting-out behaviour problems, whereas the Conduct Scale is more heterogenous. It therefore cannot be assumed that the focus boys are on the whole more troublesome in the sense of being more assertively naughty. The other scales show that they have a higher mean for Anxiety and a lower mean for Competence. The significant difference on the S Scale is difficult to interpret, since some boys with high D scores are naughty, a few are anxious and some show high scores on no other scale: a strand of attention-seeking or anxiety about adult acceptance (cf. Stott's 'XA') may be present.

In addition to the analysis of variance for differences between mans, a test of linear trend was applied (Winer, 1962, pp.70-74). This shows significant linearity of trend in the case of variables, A,C,D,E and the Conduct Scale: thus the differences tend to be an ordered progression between the social-handicap groups.

If we examine the correlation matrix of the variables, together with some cognitive test scores, the picture is further clarified.

Table 3.

Correlation Matrix (decimal points omitted).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. SBRS A	-								
2. " B(1)	04	-							
3. " B(E)	-13	-55	-						
4. " C	-36	-04	-29	-					
5. " D	00	-42	27	-10	-				
6. " E	-37	-50	12	22	28	-			
7. Conduct	36	-14	57	-73	22	-30	-		
8. E.P.V.T. 2.	-31	07	-18	54	22	09	-50	-	
9. N.F.E.R.Sentence Reading.	-29	-04	-15	64	20	11	-44	50	-

Notes.

1. The standardisation procedure also included age-correction of all scores, so this is the equivalent of a partial-correlation matrix, with age removed.
2. Significance levels : .05, r = .21; .01, r = .27; .001, r = .34 N = 90
3. The B(1) and B(E) scales have very skewed distributions, which may lower correlations with them.

This matrix shows that the Conduct Scale correlates very highly with the S.B.R.S. Competence Scale. Both Conduct and C Scales have considerable associations with the cognitive variables. The Conduct Scale does have a moderate correlation with the B(E) Scale, but it also correlates with A and E Scales to some extent.

If a standardised score of 60 or over on the Conduct Scale is used as a criterion, an interestingly heterogenous group ofboys is identified (Table 4). This table also serves to identify patterns or subgroups whose existence is masked in the general trends picked up by the parametric analyses in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 4.

Numbers of boys with different behaviour patterns identified by Conduct Scale.

	Conduct Scale Standardized Score.			
			<60	
Category.	Focus.	Comparison.	Focus.	Comparison.
High A, high B(1)	4(3)	0	2 (0)	4(1)
High A alone	2(0)	1(0)	0	7(2)
High B(1) alone	0	1(0)	0	6(0)
High B(E) alone	4(2)	2(2)	1 (0)	3(0)
High B(E), high A	1(1)	1(1)	0	0
Low C only	1(1)	1(2)	2(2)	1(1)
No problems [2]	5(0)	0	7(0)	33(0)
Totals	17(7)	7(5)	12(2)	54(4)

Notes.

1. Numbers in brackets indicate numbers within each category showing low competence score. The criterion for low competence was < 40. The criterion for high scores on other scales was < 60.

2. This included those with high D by itself: 4 focus boys, 3 over 60 on Conduct Scale; 5 comparison boys, all under 60 on Conduct Scale.

It seems that the Conduct Scale identifies a mixed group of behaviour difficulties. It does pick out naughty boys, but also several other types, especially those low in competence, as will be seen from the bracketed numbers in Table 4. This Table also shows that several anxious or quiet boys were identified by the Conduct Scale, especially if they were also low on competence. From this and the correlational data the competence dimension appears to be a major one in the Conduct Scale. The results on the Conduct Scale could be

interpreted as showing that socially handicapped boys tend to be more troublesome as a group, but this would in many cases be in the sense that they lack classroom skills, require constant supervision to keep at tasks and so on.

To be sure about the link between Conduct Scale and competence or the cognitive dimension, we must first ascertain that it is not due to the fact that both are correlated with a third variable - social handicap or social class. Within the focus group (N=29), where the variance of social handicap is much reduced, the correlation of S.B.R.S.'C' Scale and the Conduct Scale remains high ($r=-.60$, $P < .001$).

Discussion.

The high association with competence in the Conduct Scale raises the question whether other rating scales are also weighted with this dimension. The author feels that the British Social Adjustment Guides may be weighted in this way. Stott's 'Depression' items, especially D 1-6, 10-12, 15-17, are akin to S.B.R.S. competence items, as are some 'Restlessness' items (R3, 5-7,9,10), and even 'Knavery' items (K 1-3,6,10,18). If so, the social class gradient found by Kellmer-Pringle et al. (op.cit.) and the high level of 'maladjustment' in special-school children (Chazan,1964) may be at least in part due to the competence dimension and its cognitive associations. This is obviously a highly important aspect of personality and behaviour, but should we term adverse scores on this dimension indications of maladjustment in the same way as other problems?

Another point which can be raised is whether some rating scales measure social handicap itself, not primarily behaviour. The S.B.R.S. was constructed in order to avoid such contamination. The Conduct Scale contains items relating to clothing and school attendance, which could clearly be classified as measures of social handicap. Conduct Scale total correlates .51 (p .001) with social handicap score in the total sample (N=90), whereas no S.B.R.S. subscale correlates higher than .32 (A-Scale, p .01), and that cannot be due to social handicap contamination.

The Conduct Scale may not be alone in having socially slanted items. The B.S.A.G. contains items relating to school attendance (M 8-10), even if one does not count the seven 'Environmental' (E) items which are actually included by Stott in his list of items which "suggest maladjustment or unsettledness" (1966, p.55).

It would be tempting to follow the argument further and (looking merely at the analysis of variance in Table 2) to assert that, besides competence, the major difference between the severely handicapped boys and their peers is in terms of higher anxiety (A) rather than in terms of higher 'naughtiness' (B(E)) as commonly supposed. However, Table 4 shows that proportionately about double the number of focus boys may be classified as 'naughty'. This difference is not significant by chi-square due to small numbers, but it may well be genuine, since a similar difference appears in the 6-7 year old data not dealt with here. It seems that while the majority of severeley social-handicapped boys are no more badly behaved than their peers, an enlarged devient group shows very bad behaviour: the four naughtiest boys in the whole sample at 10-11 are in the focus group, creating the large standard deviation on Table 2.

From the above, and a similarly greater incidence of high A scores among focus boys in both age groups, we may cautiously infer that severe social handicap is associated both with timid, tense behaviour and with naughtiness. It is interesting to note that the focus group (in common with the comparison boys) shows means and standard deviations very close to the normative sample on the Extraversion Scale of the New Junior Maudsley Inventory (Furneaux and Gibson, 1966), a self report questionnaire. The prediction from this would be that equal numbers of the focus boys would show introverted pattern - B(E). This, as we have seen, is in fact the case. The relevant correlations of N.J.M.I. Extraversion Scale over the whole sample (N=90) are: with S.B.R.S. A Scale - .22 ($p < .05$), with B(1) Scale - .31 ($p < .01$), with B(E) .12(n.s.), with C.08(n.s.), with S .19(n.s.), and with E .32 ($p < .01$). Apart from the low correlation with B(E), these lend some further support to our hypothesis of a connection between Extraversion and S.B.R.S. score. The N.J.M.I. Neuroticism scale shows focus and comparison scores near national levels, but no significant intercorrelations except with the N.J.M.I. 'Lie' Scale (- .40, $p < .001$), which may cause some doubt on the validity of Neuroticism scores in the group.

One final reflection - it is likely that a large percentage (about 40% of the focus group will be found guilty in court by fourteen years of age: such a preduction arises from the work of Wilson (1958, 1962) on similar families. The evidence of West (op.cit) and Gibson and West (1970) supports the prediction of a very high rate of early delinquency among socially handicapped families. It is interesting to note that some of the most timid and quiet focus boys have already been through the courts. It is too early to say whether these are exceptions, but we have already seen that at least by 10-11 years old only a small proportion of the focus boys could be termed badly behaved in school, so that the much larger proportion who will become delinquent may well contain some boys who are withdrawn and anxious, as well as others who show no behaviour problems. Such considerations should lead us to avoid the too-easy equation of social handicap, bad behaviour and delinquency.

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SUMMARY.

A scale is described on which teachers rated the behaviour of 10-11 year old boys in a working class 'deprived area'. The sample comprised groups representing low, moderate, and severe social handicap. Significant differences were shown, with the severe social-handicap group having lower classroom competence, more anxious behaviour and more dependency or attention-seeking. The results are presented in relation to a scale used in other research, and are interpreted as showing that bad behaviour is not a predominant tendency in socially handicapped boys.

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ADULT EDUCATION, DEPRIVATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT - A CRITIQUE

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ADULT EDUCATION, DEPRIVATION, AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, A CRITIQUE

At a conference, such as this, the adult educationalist feels a little like the owner of a small motor repair garage at a national conference of Engineering employers. The resources which he can command, perhaps 0.01% of those available for the educational system as a whole, makes his contribution a distinctly marginal one. However, it is not the first time that marginality makes possible and necessitates a more fundamental analysis of the processes involved in education than are common within the major institutions themselves, with consequences both for action and interpretation. We feel that we should be failing in our attack on a major problem if we failed to adapt such a position at the outset.[1.]

For the adult educationalist involved in community development, whether of a statutory, (i.e. Home Office, or L.E.A. instigated) or of a voluntary nature, is necessarily in a position of some ambivalence in attempting a definition of his role both in relation to education and to community deveopment. Considering education first, at one extreme, given the narrowest possible definition of 'education', he can see himself as making provision for, and advertising the existence of, services which are already available to, and used by, the 'non-deprived'. This is to view education as a consumer service, the relevance of which can be taken for granted in much the same way as the provision of shopping facilities on a new housing estate may be seen as self-evidently desirable: if the facilities do not exist in the geographical area of concern then the exercise is to make them available in that area, or alternatively to inform people as to where they are available. On this view then the adult educationalist, is an entrepreneurial capactiy, would ensure that the "responsible bodies" provided a complete range of classes from the simple non-vocational e.g. keep-fit and cookery, up to the high-cultural e.g. "The decline of the modern novel", in deprived urban areas. This view of the role could be refined by incorporating into it a market-research strategy i.e. certain courses would not be provided because there is no demand for them.

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1. We have relegated a description of our present form of operation and of the institutions of adult education, with which many members of the conference may be unfamiliar, to an appendix.

This perspective is rejected for a number of reasons. Most importantly, it does take the relevance of existing services for granted (not only for the working-class, but for the community as a whole), and it is at least worth asking, if not for the moment answering, the question "How much of Adult Education is (adapting Paul Goodman's phrase)[1]. voluntary mis-education"? It is a perspective which treats education as an easily definable commodity, like income, of which some sections of the population are deprived and of which they ought to have more. In short, it is an extension of the context in which much of the debate about "Education and the Working Class" has been conducted in recent years, to the adult sphere. The emphasis has been placed upon the relationship between social class and educational opportunity. Moreover, as has been pointed out most lucidly in a recent paper[2]., analytical emphasis has shifted from 'class' as a concept denoting access to power and status, to 'class' as a concept denoting sub-cultural disabilities. This dilution of the concept is one which we emphatically reject. But we are also concerned that the notions of attainment and opportunity themselves should not be treated as non-problematic. The emphasis on social class, attainment, and opportunity, has diverted attention from the more important question "opportunity for what?"

What little research which has been focussed on this problem does not support an extension of the existing provision. Our generalisation is, admittedly, over-sweeping. There have been sociologists like Peter Marris who have studied the consequences of educational success for the working-class child in terms of the disjunction between the values engendered by social origins and the values engendered by further education. His conclusion that the indifference to political issues characteristically displayed by working-class students "helps to exclude the social differences that elsewhere

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1. Paul Goodman 'Compulsory Mis-education' Penguin, 1971.

2. See D.S. Byrne & W. Williamson "The Myth of the Restricted Code", University of Durham Dept. of Sociology & Soc. Admin. Working Papers in Sociology No. 1.

constrain relationships, and releases intellectual inquiry from a concern with immediate limitations on its practicality"[1]. raises important issues for adult education to which we shall return. Second there have also been those critiques of prevailing educational norms which have emphasised the values of working-class culture and fear for their decline. Richard Hoggart summarises these values as "direct, practical, concerned with behaviour and experience rather than words and images, and as such in conflict with the verbal methods and values of traditional education".[2]. Hoggart's work, although his view of working-class culture, and indeed 'traditional' education, is too often impressionistic and romanticised, does at least provide a valuable starting-point for the educationalist concerned with the working class deprived inner-city areas; if only because it makes us aware that many of the conventional techniques for teaching in such areas may be inappropriate. However, there is a tendancy for the romantic element in his work to be singled out, and extolled by some educationalists, in a way which leads to defiant defence of indigenous working-class culture in opposition to any alternative. The extreme version of this view is the promotion of 'Black Studies' in American colleges and schools; and whilst not wishing to deny the positive social and political implications of outspoken opposition to 'their' culture by black militants, a perspective of education which limits 'history' to the history of black people and their achievements, ignores the contribution of white people, even if that contribution has been primarily one of exploitation of blacks, and more important, fails to describe social reality in which whites are exploited as well as exploiters. Similarly working-class studies, although undeniably important have to be related to a view of the social and economic power structure which includes the ruling-class and its culture-singing Victorian working-class songs should not be seen as a legitimate cultural alternative to an explanation of the failure of the General Strike of 1926.

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1. Dr. Eric Midwinter 'Educational Priority Areas: The Philosophic Question'. Liverpool E.P.A. Project Occassional Papers No 1 1969

2. Dr. Eric Midwinter. The Liverpool Educational Priority Area Project Duplicated Report No date Chap. 9 p.3.

More recently the relevance of 'traditional education' to certain sections of the community has been challenged in a more fundamental way by educationalists associated with Educational Priority Areas most notably in the Liverpool E.P.A. reports of Dr. Eric Midwinter. Dr. Midwinter argues for a philosophy of 'relevance', although it is stated 'not necessarily with a view to convince, but with a hope of raising the question for discussion and appraisal'.[1] This relevance is partly a matter of basing a school curriculum on a neighbourhood and its culture. 'Their whole rationale is that each community requires a treatment tailored to its native texture and that a national blanket treatment would probably be stultifying'.[2] It is also concerned with political awareness embodied in the notion of 'constructive discontent'. Both these positions share important qualities with strategies of community development and we would argue that they have produced dubious philosophical compromises despite the intention to establish an adequate 'philosophic' position to which we shall return after considering the similar ambivalence in community development.

Community development and 'the subworking class'

In a more or less 'ad hoc' fashion a conceptual framework for analysing deprivation and ommunity development has been developed to some extent in Britain, but much more importantly in America, which has, uncritically, been accepted by educationalists working in British urban contexts. The most important concept, imported from America, is that of the 'sub-working class', i.e. a community which normally inhabits the decaying inner-ring areas of urban conurbations and which is surrounded by a viscious circle of social neglect - embracing education, housing, 'take-up' of welfare services etc. and which generates a 'culture of poverty'. It is precisely 'poverty' which is the defining characteristic of such communities, and creates the need for a distinct

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1. P. Marris 'The Experience of Higher Education, Routledge, 1964 p. 153.

2. Richard Hoggart "The Uses of Literacy", Penguin, 1958.

classification in the hierarchy of social stratification.[1.] Clearly most explanatory categories are to an extent arbitrary. But the reason why such categories, and not others, are chosen requires explanation and more importantly has decisive operational consequences. A lengthy analysis of the growing importance of the concept of 'the sub-working' would take us too far from the purposes of this paper. Suffice it to say that historically the 50's in America was a decade of relative social peace. This produced in turn a remarkable euphoria among American social scientists, and their view of 'post-industrial society' is correspondingly optimistic. Probably the most extreme statement of their position is given by Seymour Martin Lipset, "the fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution have been solved; the workers have achieved industrial and political citizenship; the conservatives have accepted the welfare state; and the democratic left has recognised that an increase in overall state power carries with it more dangers to freedom than solutions to economic problems. This very triumph of the democratic social revolution ends domestic politics for those intellectuals who must have ideologies and utopias to motivate them to political action."[2.]

It hardly needs saying that Lipset's position, reviewed with hindsight in the light of events of the subsequent decade, appears naive to the point of absurdity. The civil-rights and anti-war movements, student radicalism, and above all riots in the cities, made it clear that, however narrowly defined, some 'fundamental problems' remained. However, the subsequent generation of American social scientists (with some notable exceptions) rather than engaging in macroscopic analyses of the underlying economic and social structures, which caused the events, have tended to treat them as deviations from an acceptable norm. Hence the increasing resort to concepts like the 'sub-working class' and, at a practical level, the injection of massive funds into poverty programmes etc. Community development is seen, more often that not, as tidying up the ragged edges of the 'good society'. The distinction made between the working class and the sub-working class (or lower class) is crucial.

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1. See particularly Herbert Gans 'Urban Poverty and Social Planning' in Lazarfield et al.(eds.) The Uses of Sociology Free Press and S.M. Miller and F. Reissman 'Social Class and Social Policy'.

2. Seymour Martin Lipset 'Political Man' London 1958 pps 416-417.

Gans summarises the difference as follows "The former is distinguished by relatively stable semi-skilled blue-collar employment and a way of lift that centres on the family circle, or extended family. The lower class is characterised by temporary, unstable employment in unskilled - and at the most menial - blue collar jobs and by a way of life equally marked by instablity".[1.] Gans goes on to emphasise the matri-focal nature of sub-working class family life and the motivational inadequacies which this produces in 'boys' raised in a matri-focal milieu; inadequaces exacerbated by "racial and class discrimination, low income, slum and over-crowded housing conditions, as well as illness and other deprivations which bring about frequent crises".

Clearly it would be absurd to challenge Gans' notion that there are differences between the life-styles of the poor working class and the relatively affluent, nor is it our oppose the premise that there are problems of poverty and deprivation which are unique to some sections of the community. However, it does not follow from this limited concurrence that <u>strategies</u> of involvement by statutory or voluntary agencies concerned with community development should be defined merely in terms of a commitment to the resolution of problems associated with poverty and deprivation. It may indeed by the case that attacks on deprivation divorced from considerations of the social structures (and by this we do not simply mean local, or national, bureaucratic incompetence) which cause poverty, are doomed to failure. They may in Dr. Halsey's vivid phrase "turn out to be nothing more than a shibboleth of liberal society in decline".[2.] Indeed there is an, albeit paradoxical,[3.] recognition that problems of deprivation are subordinate to the much more important problem of people's capactiy to control their own lives. Thus it is explicitly recognised in C.D.P.s rubric that there is a twin aim of "meeting the needs of people by bringing together the work of all the social services under the leadership of a special project

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1. Gans <u>Op.cit.</u>

2. H. Halsey 'Government against Poverty' paper delivered at Anglo/Amercan Conference on the Evaluation of Social Action Programmes.

3. This paradox is also discussed in Dr. Halsey's paper.

team and also[1]. by tapping resources of self-help and mutual help which may exist among the people of the neighbourhood."[2]. This latter aim has been interpreted e.g. by Coventry C.D.P. as "to help people exercise increased control over their own lives, including enlarging opportunities in directions which they themselves see as desirable."[3]. The same theme runs through the American literature on community development i.e. the 'sub-working class' is not only poor, but it has little chance of determining its own life-chances. But if this is a defining characteristic of Gans' lower class what about the status of the 'non-deprived' working-class in contemporary industrial society? Does it in some significant way determine its life-chances? And if it does not then are not the similarities between the social experiences of the 'deprived' and the 'affluent' working class more important than the differences?

It is by using the category working classes in registrar-general's term, not that of deprived or sub-working class that a recent critique of Plowden and EPA policies has made some trenchant points. Considering the narrow area of differential achievement between middle and working class children, measured in conventional terms, the authors have shown how predominantly working class local authority areas have received fewer resources per head than those with a high proportion of middle class families. The fashionable emphasis on cultural deprivation as a major variable in producing lower achievement in working class children is only possible by ignoring significant political variables. Both the research methods which lie behind such conclusions and the policies themselves are open to serious question.

The most thorough and penetrating analysis in non-structural terms of the status, power and class position of the affluent British working class appears in the Goldthorpe, Lockwood et al. trilogy.[4]. For our purposes it is necessary

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1. Our emphasis.

2. Home Secretary on initiation of C.D.P.s in Liverpool, Coventry and Southwark 1969

3. "C.D.P. in Coventry: The Second Phase" 1972.

4. (a) "The Affluent Worker; Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour"
   (b) "Political Attitudes and Behaviour"
   (c) "The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure".

to consider their findings in relation to the worker as both consumer an producer. It is interesting to note that as producer at least they find that "Marx's original characterisation of 'alienated labour' can stand as a not greatly exaggerated account of the common condition of workers, whether affluent or poor.

"Work is external to the worker . . . it is not part of his nature . . .; consequently he does not fulfil himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker, therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labour. It is not the satisfaction of need, but only a means for satisfying other needs"[1].

If this is the case then arguments about "control over their own lives" would appear to have little relevance for workers when they are at work. Moreover, it could plausibly be argued that the unemployed worker has correspondingly greater control over his life because he does not have to suffer alienation in employment. However, it is not germane to the purpose of this paper to pursue this point.

The worker as consumer raises more difficulties in terms of control over resources. Goldthorpe and Lockwood et al. are unwilling to accept neo-Marxist arguments about the aliented consumer controlled by the hegemony of a bourgeois culture. They prefer instead a model which sees the worker as accepting alientating work activity precisely because this gives him greater consumer power. But this is hardly relevant to theorists of community development because their concept of limited power is clearly not confined to the limited income of residents in project areas, and the correlative inability of such residents to avail themselves of scarce resources. They are concerned, however uncertainly, with the notion of control expressed in collective terms. More relevant therefore is a recognition that in a number of key areas particularly education and housing the powerlessness of the worker is a vitally significant

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1. Karl Marx 'Alienated Labour' in "Economic and Philosphical Manuscripts of 1844" trans. T.B. Bottomore, Karl Marx : Early Writings (London 1963) quoted in Goldthorpe et al. "The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure" (Cambridge 1969) p. 180.

factor determining his life-chances to a considerable degree and is therefore a determinant of his class position. The development of the welfare state has been both a recognition and a symbol of this in modern Britain, inevitably producing a different context for class analysis than in the United States. Thus Rex and Moore[1.] have analysed the housing market in Birmingham in terms of housing classes finding this a much more useful explanatory framework for the position of the immigrant than one which described him as a member of the sub-working class, and a recent study of tenants associations has drawn out their class implications.

Lack of control in the educational field is perhaps best indicated by the concept of bourgeois cultural 'hegemony' as developed by Gramscis and others. This entails considering the working-class as deprived, not only in the work-place and in terms of access to material wealth but also in terms of their access to ideas and knowledge, because the ruling class has, in Perry Anderson's phrase, "profound cultural supremacy."[2.] Thus in neo-capitalist societies, in addition tc control over the means of production and its accompanying co-ercive apparatus, the dominant class exercises crucial control over the apparatus of cultural dissemination (institutions of learning, the arts, the mass media) in short over all those means through which social consciousness could be effectively created. Without resorting to the contentious notion of 'false consciousness', ruling-class cultural hegemony can at least be seen as giving the working-class no effective choice between alternatives i.e. without wishing to question the consumption choices themselves, of material goods and leisure pursuits by the working class, we would certainly wish to question the milieu in which those choices are made. This milieu is essentially one of constraint and manipulation, it emerges from a social structure which, in the most extreme form limits the options open to the working class and expands those open to the middle classes. In short, translating from Andre Gorz "The cultural battle for a conception of man, of life of education, of work, of civilisation, is the condition for the re-uniting of all the other battles for social change".[3.]

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1. J. Rex and R. Moore. Race, Community and Conflict. O.U.P. 1967.

2. See Perry Anderson 'Origins of the Present Crisis' in Anderson and Blackburn(eds) Towards Socialism (London 1965) p.30

3. See Andre Gorz 'Strategie Ouvriere et . Neocapitalisme' P. 123 (Paris 1964)

If community development theorists are talking about social and political control they do this in a way that suggests those not in 'depressed' areas already have such control. In short the position of this paper is diametrically opposed to this - there is not a section of the population, at least in Britain, which is usefully termed 'sub-working class'. There are degrees of deprivation, but the concept o eprivation' itself is more useful if extended to cover the position of th whole working class, whether poor or not, because of its status in the hierarchy of social stratification. This position is one of powerlessness, if by power we mean significant control over the structure of social and economic costs and benefits prevailing in contemporary industrial society.

The ambivalence of both community development and community education as this question of the prevailing power structure can usefully be summarised for Britain in the perspective outlined for E.P.A.'s by Dr. Midwinter. As already indicated the Liverpool E.P.A. is acutely concerned with 'relevance'. We would emphatically agree with this starting point: that education as conventionally understood (presumably for adults as well as children) is largely irrelevant to the needs of people living in deprived areas. However, there follow fundamental differences in our philosophical and social analysis. These differences are a product of the E.P.A.'s apparent willingness to engage in the rhetoric of 'control' whilst ultimately denying that concept any substantive operational content. Thus it is asserted that "education might hope to equip children (and again we might add adults) to stand up to the grim reality of their social context and possibly repair it according to their own judgement.[1.] To this end they might engage in a close and unremmiting investigation of their own environment in all its aspects . . . Only forearmed with this untimate familiarity might they be expected to articulate the needs they feel and create channels and devices for satisfying them.[1.] This is emphatically intended as the opposite of a soporiphic[2.] .." When this is conjoined to a later statement that "For valid reasons, society insists on a differential system

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1. Our emphasis.

2. Midwinter op.cit. p.5

of status, income and circumstances which critically effects educational performance,"[1.] then however emphatic the intentions, a "soporiphic" is exactly what the proposals amount to. If we are to take for granted the validity of a monstrously inequitable structure of power and economic rewards then in what sense <u>does</u> education become relevant to a community? Is it not precisely the validity of this structure which people (children and adults) ought to question? Moreover, if the structure's validity is to be a 'datum' (inspite incidentally of an earlier commitment of the E.P.A. programme to 'open-minded' investigation of the environment) then how can 'community education' amount to any more than a formula for social lobotomy?

If our starting point for analysis is the same as Dr. Midwinter's our ends are antithetical. We do not want adults in deprived inner-urban areas 'to stand up to the given reality of their social context'.[2.] Certainly we should like them to understand and interpret that 'reality'. But they are entitled to a perspective which sees it as intolerable. They may want to eliminate it, not repair it. Perhaps it is beyond repair.

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1. Dr. Midwinter op.cit. p.5

2. Dr. Midwinter op.cit.

Analytical framework for adult education

What are the implications of this for a strategy of adult education in an urban community which whilst rejecting both the introverted horizon limiting perspective of a narrow, community, cultural or subcultural philosophy, also rejects that perspective which sees the adult educationalist as uncritically attempting to transmit middle-class culture and values to a community which has, at least hitherto, found them largely irrelevant. First, education may best be conceived of as a dialogue between the educationalist and interested members of the community in which the former is as willing to learn as the latter. The dialogue ought to begin on issues chosen by members of the community and not by the educationalist. It is envisaged, and limited experience confirms, that the issues will be highly 'instrumental' i.e. of acute relevance to the community (housing, unemployment, recreational facilities). Second, the function of the educationalist is to attempt to extend the range of discussion of the dialogue beyond the point at which contributors, e.g. to a discussion on unemployment, say, "but we can do nothing about that." The point then is for the class to find out why they cannot do anything. Thus discussions about unemployment will move away from either statements by individuals of their inability to find jobs in a deprived area, to an analysis of existing opportunities for employment in that area as a whole, and finally to an analysis of the economic and political systems which ultimately explain why their region is depressed and why they are unemployed. Third, for at least some members of the group there will be a demand for more sophisticated inputs e.g. the pure mathematical 'numeracy' so disparaged by Dr. Midwinter may become highly relevant if the initial discussions generate a demand for macro-economic knowledge, and it is unforgiveably patronising to assume at the outset that they will not. Finally, it may be, even if from only one of the group, that there is a growing fasination with the formulae of macro-economics which is independent of a concern with economics i.e. the group has produced somebody with a hitherto unrealized talent for mathematics. This too should be encouraged and developed, albeit in a different context from that of the initial group involved in the employment dialogue. This paragraph has considered only one issue. Others associated with the environment, education, and welfare and case rights could also be readily

anticipated. It illustrates one form of arrangement in which the concept of the working class can be of greater value than those associated with 'deprivation', the culture of poverty and the sub working class. In more general terms, and necessarily too briefly in this paper the general education strategy made available can be considered as follows.

Education motivation and aspiration

We have briefly considered a critique of educational research which focuses on the aspiration and achievement of working class children in narrow terms. The same dangers are inherent in regarding motivation in excessively personal terms. Positive motivation tends to be regarded in educational theory from psychological standpoints. Sociology, as we have seen explains deviations from the norms in negative terms. We would suggest that there are positive consequences arising from an approach which treats education and learning as arising basically from social relations. If such relations within the educational system are dominated by the present social structure alienation will inevitably produce low motivation, achievement and lack of aspiration. If an educational dialogue can be established which does not produce lack of control and restriction on the direction allowed to students then working class men and women may perceive the opportunities to learn quite differently. If it is directly concerned with consciousness, and awareness in class terms the form of the educational dialogue can closely relate motivation, the concept of learning, and its cultural matrix. This speculative educational strategy is at least as well based in social analysis as other which are current and is far less commonly pursued in Britain despite apparent evidence of its success in the different social context of Latin America.

Education and facilities

It is also appropriate to see the educationist as providing facilities and resources necessary for learning, whether physical or human, Most skills can best be learned from those who already have them, often equipment is necessary. In an adult education project these facilities can best be made available by a range of alliances and federations with appropriate providing bodies and voluntary groups: the universities including extra mural departments, the Workers Educational Association, the local education authority, a community

development project, arts projects and community trusts such as that involving the free school. The notion of networks proposed by radical critics of institutional education is very valuable. For the range of people essential to such an educational network the work of Illich, Reimer and others is also relevant: 'Educational resources must be administered independently of each other, and given priority in reverse order to that of the school. First, attention must be given to the availability of information in the form of records, the instruments which produce and interpret these records and other objects in which information is stored. Second priority must be given to the availability of skill models, people who can demonstrate the skill to be acquired. Third priority must go to the availability of real peers, fellow learners with whom learning can actually be shared. Fourth and last priority must go to the provision of educators who by virtue of experience can[1]. facilitate the use of the more essential learning resources. A crucial word which recurs in this quotation is availability. It is for those workers who engage in the dialogue to decide on which facilities they will choose for their purposes. The concept of working class education is helpful in keeping an open mind on the range of facilities which may be required. The culture of poverty, by its very origins, expects those who participate in that culture to exhibit deviant norms unless they can escape. In contrast analysis of broad social classes based on social and economic power has not led to a simple and restricted view of the intellectual and aesthetic potential of the worker.

Education and culture

The relationship between the working class and the products of a bourgeois culture has always been perceived as complex and ambivalent not simple and subordinate. The worker may, like the capitalist bourgeoisie gain an understanding of the general nature of history. Not all of these products can be seen, or ought to be seen, as agents of repression, although they may all be used e.g. through certification etc., as to perpetuate the hegemony of the ruling class.

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1. E. Reimer 'School is Dead'. Pelican Education Special 1971 pp. 116-117.

They ought also to be seen as part of mankinds heritage to which the class conscious worker can enter when finding his true relations to society and the world, and as an expansion of human capacity for creativity which differentiates men from other animals[1]. To limit access to this heritage on the grounds that its relevance to working class men and women is not immediately apparent is, in effect, to perpetuate the system which creates this irrelevancy. It is to concede defeat without even attempting to win: it is to institutionalise the exploitation and alienation experienced by the working class as consumers as well as producers, in the cultural and educational sphere.

If a philosophy of education is to have any meaning for the working class it must be developed in the context of a challenge to bourgeois hegemony. This is a matter of operational importance. Locally based activities must decisively reject the almost quietistic parochialism underlying much British community development and educational priority work. The emphasis on indiginous working class communities developing, through a miscroscopic analysis of their own environment, channels and devices with which they can control their own lives makes little sense if the form which the analysis will take is predetermined by the participants lack of cultural hegemony. Also the charge of 'ghettoism' which Dr. Midwinter himself says can be levelled against his proposals, cannot be refuted by saying that every area can have its own community school. Without digressing into a consideration of the possible forms such schools may take in middle class areas, it must be emphasised that for working class children and their parents the implications are disastrous: 'it implies that the solidarity of class which is societal in its sweep, and draws no nice distinctions

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1. See the interesting discussion of the ambivalent relationship between the working class and culture in Raymond Williams Culture and Society London 1958 particularly pages 265-284.

between men of this place and that, this name and that, this dialect and that - is rooted in the kind of parochial solidarity which is its very antithesis'.[1.]

Still education involves actual people not abstract concepts. The class relationship 'must always be embodied in real people in a real context.. And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually oposed to) theirs ... Class consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodies in traditions, value systems, ideas and institutional forms ... Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in just the same way'.[2.] Cultural forms and expression must be placed at the centre of adult education in a working class area. We must stand where people are. Their culture will be composed of Hoggart's traditions, of contemporary popular culture, and of what they share by right with everyone as the best in the human tradition. But none of these elements should dictate the direction or ends which workers wish to take. The directions and ends should be determined by their own increasing consciousness; and this consciousness will partly be achieved from an increasing awareness of their own cultural and expressive forms, themselves products of social relations. There are, of course, problems in working out this position in practice. Along with the E.P.A. project and the C.D.P.s we have to operate in the present social structure. There are for example the factors associated with social mobility.

Clearly some working-class adults engaged in the educational process we have described, will feel a need to escape from the crippling limitations of their environment. This is, of course, nothing new. Workers who, through Trade Union, W.E.A. or other experiences, have felt a compelling need to move into Institutions where their aspirations (and this need not mean 'to get on', but simply 'to learn') can be satisfied, have usually, perhaps inevitably, become socially mobile. Their consciousness may then become constrained by the forces referred to by Marris earlier in this paper i.e. they may become less, rather than more, political than their peers. However if education is <u>initially</u> envisaged in terms

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1. J. Westergaard. 'The Withering Away of Class' in Anderson and Blackburn (eds) "Towards Socialism" p. 107 London 1965.

2. E.P. Thompson. The Making of the English Working Class.

of 'consciousness' this would be in marked contrast with the arid pursuit of certification with which the 'bright' working-class child becomes engaged in contemporary society, and this emphasis on the relationship between theory and practice may, hopefully, overcome the diverce from class consciousness which is typically the response of the socially mobile working-class child. But even is socially mobile adults did conform to the tendencies mentioned in Marris' work, there would remain the majority who would stay to live and work within the same class structure as they have always done. The 'dialogue' would have, if successful, altered, or made more coherent their perspective of what could, or could not be done within existing social structures. Second it could be plausibly argued that all we have provided is a formula for frustration; that if we succeed we will simply leave some men and women with grievances about which they can do little.

Would it not be better therefore to emphasise the notion of "constructive discontent", that the same men and women could do something, however minimal, to improve their lots if they confined their attention to a detailed analysis of their own environment? But the whole point of our paper is to emphasise just how limited the solutions would be if this approach were adopted and, moreover, it does not exclude these limited solutions. More positively it could be argued, from our point of view, that to comprehend the nature and variety of limitations on systemic reform is a good in itself, in that it will promote purposive action to alter these limitations. Finally there could be the criticisms that our own perspective is impossible to implement given the institutional framework of education within which we work. This may ineed turn out to be the case.

However, at least the research element of the action-research could then be genuinely open-minded. We would accept the idea that action research should not be dominated by narrow empiricism, or a search for quantitative evidence in areas where it cannot be found and may not be useful. Our very operation accepts the notion that educational research should be more concerned with action, with the clinical approach, rather than an almost exclusive reliance on testing or experimental models. In the clinical model, researchers are involved in the action they are investigating, and they both learn from the action and contribute to it. This differs from research that is unconnected with action.[1.] Under these circumstances the importance of an initially

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1. S.M. Miller and Pamela M. Roby. Urban Change and Schools of Education in Education in Cities edited by J.A. Lauwergs and D.G. Scanton. Evans Brothers London 1970.

convincing conceptual framework is vital. The suspicion of 'academics' often justifiably expressed by those engaged in action projects should not spill over into suspicion of a rigorously academic analysis. The result of such exaggerated suspicion is as dangerous for producing effective results as the imposition of narrow academic norms. Action research of the interpretive kind is always in danger of eulogism presented as a report of a successful experiment, because success is always regarded in entirely contingent terms.

We have merely argued that a useful conceptual framework for action and research in education is more likely to emerge from an explicit position regarding active social relations - who controls and who is controlled, and by what specific institutions and means - than by a functionalist approach leading to the culture of poverty and the sub-working class. Action and research methods based on action can then be chosen on clear grounds in which one strategy is related to another the reason for deviation made clear, and the consequences of deviation laid out. We are more likely to make clear the limitations of specific educational methods and the relationship between local interaction and the total power structure in which local relations are <u>included</u>, not set apart as discrete entities.

Above all by making a position explicit we can expose and examine the consequences of ideologies. It should be clear that the element in community development we value most is that which accepts people where they are, and does not wish to impose an external time-table on the growth of their activities. No ideology should therefore be imposed on any neighbourhood or group. We would argue that the failure to make ideology explicit has produced greater imposition on working class men and women through its constant underlying presence.

APPENDIX

We recognise the inevitable oversimplication, imposed by a short paper, in or references to North American community development and community organisation. The work of Saul Alinsky and a great deal of the local action in both Grey Areas projects and the War on Poverty has confronted the 'establishment' with substantial challenge at various points, see P. Marris and M. Rein Dilemmas of Social Reform, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1967; R.M. Kramer and H. Specht Readings in Community Organisation Practice, Prentice Hall 1969; F.M. Cox and other Strategies of Community Organisation, Peacock, Illinois 1970; J.A. Draper (editor) Citizen Participation: Canada, New Press, Toronto 1971. However we would suggest that it is because there is rarely a theoretical position other than that of functionalism that these dilemmas are not analysed in sufficient depth.

IDENTIFICATION OF CHILDREN IN NEED

by

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Paper presented to the York Conference on Social Deprivation and Change in Education, April 1972. On behalf of the Identification Techniques Unit of the School Council Research and Development Project in Compensatory Education at Swansea.

IDENTIFICATION OF CHILDREN IN NEED

by Roy Evans

"What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy."

John Dewey
"The School and Society" P 7

Educational research in Britain over the past fifteen years has frequently brought to light fundamental inadequacies of provision in both primary and secondary education. To some extent, political, educational and social pressures have acted in concert to restore the demonstrated imbalance and so give a greater practical realisation to the call for 'equality of opportunity'. The abolition of a public examination at 11+, the establishment of Comprehensive Schools, the expansion of higher education and a general concern with curriculum innovation, are indicative of a deeply felt concern to democratise education and to make it relevant to the needs of a rapidly changing society. It may happen however that because of a limitation on the resources available to education an improvement in provision at one level is inevitably linked with restrictions at other levels. Under-provision in its widest sense can therefore occur as a result of direct policy and through the allocation of a pro priority rating in the distribution of resources. Again, under-provision, particularly within the public primary sector may arise as Glass (1964) points out "not as a result of a conscious educational policy, but because of the nature of our society and of the absence of sufficient informed and persistent action to compensate for built in inequalities of conditions, attitudes and behaviour". If underprovision is regarded as the failure on the part of the school system to cope adequately with the educational needs and difficulties of all its charges then a return to a condition of adequacy can only be achieved through a process of positive action which may or may not involve a redefinition of the role of the school. The purpose of the present conference is to focus attention on the problem of institutional change in relation to the children of the Urban poor. Many of these children exhibit considerable educational handicaps as a result of deprivations in their home background and recent research has clearly indicated the considerable wastage of homan potential which is attributable to development within an uncongenial environment. Educational disadvantage is frequently the result of multiple deprivations and many of the factors which have been shown to affect school progress tend to interact in a complex manner. Thus, children who are

brought up in conditions of enforced poverty frequently live in poor neighbourhoods in substandard houses and experience little cultural stimulation. Schools in such areas are themselves often handicapped by the lack of basic facilities for work and play, so that a progressive deterioration in the academic achievements of some children occurs as a result of commulative effects within their total situation. Increasingly over the last decade however, and largely as a result of American practice, these children have come to be regarded as in need of special help at an early age and of such a nature as to prevent their deterioration to the point where remedial assistance is necessary. The term Compensatory Education has evolved as a descriptive generalisation for a wide variety of actions and intervention programmes designed to help children overcome their environmental limitations.[1] Its emphasis on prevention as opposed to remediation reflects the fundamental reorientation in approach to children's difficulties which has characterised the whole field of developmental paediatrics since the early 1960s.

For Compensatory Education to become an effective and viable force within the framework of British primary education, three basic issues need to be tackled:

(a) The identification and prediction at an early age of those children who are likely to need some form of special help.

(b) The diagnosis of specific difficulties and needs in individual children.

(c) The prescription of an effective programme of action.

These three lines of enquiry are essentially similar to Burt's (1957) blueprint for tackling the problem of the Backward child. For one must agree whole heartedly with Burt that "as with many of the problems that perplex us, the most promising solution is to be sought in the adoption of a more scientific approach".[2]

This paper is mainly concerned with the identification of need in young children, the form it should take and its implications for the school system at primary and particularly infant level.

Identification Through Individual Assessments

In Compensatory Education, the 'a priori' assumption is made that restricted or retarded development is attributable, at least partially, to adverse social, material and cultural influences. The prediction of subsequent handicaps due to such causes is only possible if the relevant 'risk' factors have been delineated and their individual and collective effects on various educational criteria have been established. There is no dearth of experimental evidence relating background conditions to school progress. In this country, successive reports of the Central Advisory Council for Education beginning with the report on Early Leaving (1954) and culminating with Plowden (1967) have highlighted the effects of poverty, parental attitudes and school facilities on the educational attainments of children at primary and secondary levels. Early studies by Floudetal (1957), Fraser (1959), Wiseman (1964) and Douglas (1964) provide additional evidence of the existence of marked social class effects in relation to equality of educational opportunity.

3

The gap between the operational abilities of middle class and working class children noted by Floudetal (op cit) does, in Douglas' view, undergo progressive polarisation between the ages of 8 years and 11 years and as Dale and Griffiths demonstrate, clearly continues to widen in the Secondary School.

American experience is similar, and Chazan (1968) has pointed out that the main targets for Compensatory Education have in the main, been the children of the Urban poor as well as those belonging to minority groups whose cultural life diverges from the American Ideal. The recommendations of the Plowden (1967) Committee, which by now are well known, reflect a similar and justifiable concern for those children who grow up in decaying inner Urban Centres of British towns and cities and have since provided a spur to educational action on a broad front. Moreover the criteria laid down by Plowden for the selection of certain 'priority areas' in need of urgent positive discrimination clearly provide a focus for valuable social and educational reform. But it is equally clear that socio-economic factors are rarely, if ever, the sole determinants of educational handicap and for many children living inside the priority areas the seeds of education do not fall completely on stoney ground. Chazan (1968) has pointed out that there is no clear-cut, homogeneous category of children, who can be labelled as deprived or disadvantaged or "who have very definite and specific characteristics which are invariably associated with deprivation or disadvantage."[3] Perhaps the main danger of limiting one's view of deprivation and disadvantage to the purely material aspects of Urban life is to neglect important psychological variables such as attitudes which are not closely linked with individual families. Ferguson and Williams (1969) have stressed this point and shown an impressive feature of previous research into the causes of school failure has been the evidence relating to the relative importance of the psychological qualities of the home as opposed to the purely material circumstances. They point out that poor or disturbed family relationships can occur independently of income group, occupational level or geographical region. The importance of good attitudes to education is indeed revealed in the Plowden Report and Peaker's (1967) analysis lead him to observe that "the evidence strongly suggests that if parental attitudes could be changed by persuasion, there would be a marked rise in the general level of school achievement. Peaker in fact demonstrated the importance of parental attitudes as the most important source of variation[4] of educational performance amongst the children of the Plowden survey, surpassing the effects both of home circumstances and state of school. The importance of psychological factors as determinants of school progress may therefore be taken as providing strong support for the view that identification of need should be geared towards individuals rather than areas or schools. The view receives explicit support from the Plowden committee who recommended that "early and <u>accurate</u> identification of handicapped children is essential, however slight or severe their disability."[5] <u>Yet</u>, the Plowden diagnosis for positive discrimination as it operates in practice is geared to 'areas' and not to 'individuals'. It is based on the gross socio-economic characteristics of areas

and consequently, as a means of ensuring an equitable distribution of resources it is a very blunt instrument. This point has received recent experimental support through a study by Ferguson et al (1971)[6] of the relationship between socio-economic and developmental characteristics of the infant reception class intakes to schools serving deprived, settled working class and suburban residential areas. The authors utilised the Plowden EPA Criteria set out in Volume 1 (pages 57-59) of the report to make an estimate of the socio-economic status characteristics of each school using census data from the catchment areas served by each of the schools examined. Ferguson et al (op cit) demonstrated that whilst a sizeable relationship between school type and the school entrants developmental characteristics did exist there were too many exceptions to the general trend to justify the use of school characteristics for identifying children 'at risk'. They concluded that "There were also many exceptions to the assumption that school entrants who live in deprived areas and attend deprived schools will be less well-equipped to deal with the demands of the infant school than entrants to non-deprived schools", and argued for the child centred approach to identification of need so "that available financial and manpower resources can be concentrated where the need is greatest."

The sharper, child centred, approach to need identification stresses the necessity of regarding children as individuals with unique experiences. It supports the notion that whilst the types of deprivation experienced by children at the several levels of society are probably quite different, the end results are frequently the same, that is, disadvantage and subsequent educational deterioration. In any single instance the need is to determine the educational 'risk' at an early age and make provision accordingly. The stress on early identification is especially important since it has long been recognised that where action is necessary it is more effective in producing amelioration of the condition the sooner it is introduced. In the past the adequate assessment of children at school entry has been made difficult for several reasons:

1. The lack of test materials suitable for use with the five year old child, and a corpus of opinion which in any case opposed the labelling of young children on the basis of early test performances.
2. A limited understanding of the environmental factors which affect a child's later performance at school, so that little guidance has been available to teachers regarding the most useful information to be gained from parents.
3. The lack of sufficient numbers of trained personnel within the school psychological service which all too frequently resulted in a 'waiting list' of children referred to the educational psychologist and prevented him from acting as a consultant as much as was needed.

At the present time, however, a clear realisation has emerged of the crucial importance to the child of the years of infant schooling. In particular the need for the infant school to discover the strength and weaknesses of its children has been stressed, and this in turn has lent impetus to the development of techniques adequate to the task. Of special importance in the latter context has been the interest

expressed[7] in the possibility of applying screening procedures to the whole of the intake to infant schools at the time of entry, thereby providing the teacher with a measure of educational risk for each child, and highlighting significant factors in the child's development and environment which work against progressive educational attainments.

Early Screening

Over the last decade, the notion of children 'at risk' has found increasing use in the various disciplines concerned with the development, education and welfare of young children. Originally the term was used in connection with those children who, as a result of unfavourable experiences in their pre, peri, and post natal periods or uncongenial familial histories, were regarded as particularly likely to develop or display problems of development. In 1962 a series of 'risk factors' were set out by Sheridan,[8] each of which appeared to be related to the later emergence of a handicapping condition, and these factors have been widely used since as the basis of 'risk registers' kept by many local authorities. Such registers provide a means of selectively screening children who are at risk of handicapping conditions and their basic purpose, as Mary Wilson (1967) stated is "to prevent as many as possible from becoming handicapped children." Prevention is ideally achieved through the selective follow up of all children in a high risk group until such time as their development is seen to be progressing normally, or until they are receiving special educational treatment appropriate to their needs. Sheridan's (op cit) concept of a small group of children who exhibit a high proportion of the total defects in a given age group, has however, been shown by current research to be an optimistic oversimplification of what is in reality a complex problem. Butler (1969) reviewing the medical screening position was forced to conclude that "facts are badly needed as to which are the important predictors of handicap taken singly or in combination, and about definitions, incidence and types of childhood handicap as they exist in Britain today". The paediatrician who is concerned with preventing the emergence of a 'hidden' handicap, and the educationalist who is concerned with offsetting a decline in academic achievement, thus have similar problems. Both require an instrument of early identification and both require the operation to be cost effective. In education in Britain, at this point in time, the cost effectiveness of various forms of provision, in their relation to various methods of determining need, has yet to be investigated. Consequently, the view adopted in this paper and elsewhere, that maximum advantage is gained through a child centred approach to the problems created by various types of deprivation, whilst being logical to the educationalist may prove to be economically naive. However some support for the cost effectiveness of the child centred approach may be gained from the work of Alberman and Goldstein (1970) who clearly indicated that in developmental paediatrics, considerable benefits accrued if resources for screening (and hence action) were differentially devoted to children of different levels of risk, as opposed to only the children at 'high risk'.

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In the context of Compensatory Education the actuarial approach outlined, requires universal screening of school entrants and the selection of groups of children for whom positive discrimination is both relevant and necessary. Screening procedures are not uncommon in Education today. Indeed, they are a feature of modern society, and in the simplest case the formulation of a selection strategy is theoretically straight forward. In principle, provided that an initial experiment has determined the relationship between a predictor or a set of predictors and the measurable criterion situation, the predictor(s) may be used to rank order and assign to various classes, subsequent groups of subjects in a manner dependent on the selection rules generated by the criterion adopted. The arbitrariness of the selection rules or cut off points must clearly vary from problem to problem and will be reflective of the validity of the overall prediction. Compensatory Education is currently at the stage of formulating its identification instruments, and the work is being mainly carried out at University College Swansea, with funds received from the Schools Council.

In September 1968, the Identification Techniques Unit of the Compensatory Education Project, embarked on the first stage of a three year longitudinal study of a large group of school entrants. The purpose of the study was to develop a suitable screening procedure for use with school entrants and which would enable the school to arrive at a reasonably definitive statement regarding the level of educational 'risk' displayed by each of its new pupils. This work has now been completed, the materials field tested for acceptability and the final report is presently being drafted prior to approval by the Schools Council. At this stage therefore it is not possible to do more than indicate the direction that the work has taken or to remark more than briefly on the outcomes.

The Main Study

The Schools Council FieldReport No 6 outlined the way in which the work was being organised towards the achievement of the main goal. The unit is worked with children who entered the reception classes of twelve infant schools or departments between 2 September 1968 and 1 September 1969, and who furthermore reached their fifth birthday within this period. Six of the infant schools who co-operated with the project were located in the City of Birmingham, and six in the County of Glamorgan. Of the six schools in each area four were nominated as serving 'deprived' areas, one as serving a typical settled working class area and one a suburban residential or 'advantaged' area. It was expected at the outset that the judgement sample of twelve schools would provide a population for longitudinal study of between seven and eight hundred children. By July 1969, 789 children had in fact been admitted to these schools, although the movement of some families away from an area, the refusal of others to co-operate and the absence of some children from school at crucial times effectively combined to reduce the number of children available for the study to 695. Losses from the sample due to changes in paternal occupation and the settlement of families in development areas of course

continued throughout the duration of the project and although great efforts were made to trace the children involved in such social movement, some reduction in sample size inevitably occured. By the summer of 1971, there was clear evidence of marked differences between the two regions in respect of social mobility, over 18% of the autumn intake into the six Birmingham schools changed their schools by the beginning of the following autumn term as against 4% or less in Glamorgan. Some difference in this direction was however expected owing to the intensive redevelopment policy operative in that City although the magnitude of the difference suggests that other factors also were at work. The differential mobility persisted in the remaining two years of the field work but the actual magnitudes of the movement fell slightly.

Initial Data Collection

For each child included in the sample initial information was gathered through the use of four main achedules each one probing a particular area of the child's total situation. The Schedules were:

(a) Home Background Schedule

The purpose of this schedule was to provide data on the cultural and material provision of the home as well as on the degree of paternal/maternal support given to the child and the relationship of the family with the school. These variables have shown up in previous research as important determinants of educational development the information for the present study being obtained through a fairly structural interview between the parents and headteachers of the schools concerned. Although in a few cases the assistance of Health Visitors was sought to achieve complete information, the high degree of co-operation displayed by parents was a notable feature of this phase of the work. The reactions of the Heads to the interview material were of course of particular interest and importance and great encouragement was taken from their enthusiasm regarding the extra insights to family background which this approach provided.

From the research standpoint however it was obviously necessary to determine the reliance which could be placed on the information given to the Heads by the parent at the time of the interview. A small scale study was therefore undertaken with the object of re-rating the home backgrounds of 90 children from the main sample through interviews with parents 'at home'. The interviews were conducted by the project's social worker and the information so obtained was then compared with the information provided by the schools' headteachers for each of the 90 children. The overall agreement between the two sets of measures was quite high ($r = +0.84$) and served to promote confidence in the data obtained on the full sample of 695 children. On this point it is interesting to record that when the data for the two regions were separately analysed there was no significant difference between the two reliability values obtained.

(b) Medical Schedule

Information was also gathered at the initial stages of the enquiry on the developmental history and physio-medical status of each child in the sample. This was achieved through the co-operation of the Medical Officers of Health in the two areas, who conducted a slightly modified version of the standard school medical examination, and the Health Visitors, who interviewed parents at the time of the examination with a view to obtaining pre and perinatal history together with a record of the child's subsequent development. In the case of parents who did not attend their child's examination at school, the Health Visitors carried our interviews at home whenever possible and obtained the desired information in this way. In all over seventy separate items of medical data were obtained for almost every child in the sample.

(c) Child Assessment Schedule

The main purpose of this schedule was to provide measures of the intellectual, linguistic and perceptual motor development of the children being studied. Fourteen tests were included in the final battery and all but two of these had been developed during the early stages of the project's work. The administration of this battery was conducted by members of the research team withing a few weeks of the children entering school; thirteen of the sub-tests required the child's individual attention and one (a test of visual perception) was given to small groups numbering between eight and twelve. Particular attention was paid to the needs of five-year-olds during the initial period of test construction, and favourable comments on the material have been obtained from infant school heads and others working in the field. It was regarded as especially important that the techniques developed were appropriate for use in the normal classroom situation, and it is presently felt that the tests selected for inclusion in the battery adequately reflected this necessary restriction. Other characteristics of the battery were appraised. A recent study involving 100 five-year-olds from selected project schools revealed that the test-retest reliability of the whole battery was in excess of +0.94. The study also indicated that the battery and the majority of sub-tests were relatively insensitive to the effects of different test administrators.

(d) Teacher Assessment Schedule

This schedule was developed to provide information on each child in the school situation. Class teachers were asked to assess the adjustment of the child to school shortly after entry, to comment on his/her interaction with other members of the class, and to predict his/her likely educational status at the end of the infant school. Their comments and opinions were also sought on a number of issues of considerable importance at the infant stage of education. These when analysed in detail, provided useful insights to the type of educational provision favoured by the teachers and the methods used to assist slow-learning children in the infant school.

Final Data Collection

The main study is essentially one of prediction so that in addition to the collection of initial information descriptive of the population of children under review, it was necessary to assess the educational progress of all children in the sample at the end of their infant school careers. These latter assessments represented the criteria for prediction and subsequent analyses attempted to isolate meaningful relationships between the initial and final measures so as to provide a basis for prediction and identification.

Two sets of measures were obtained for each child in his last term at infant school. These were:

(1) School Schedule

The format and content of this schedule were developed by working parties of research staff and teachers participating in the project. The schedule was in two parts; Part 1 dealt with the nature of the educational provision available to each child at the time of assessment and requested additional factual information regarding his school attendance record, changes in family circumstances and possible referral to the educational psychologist or child guidance clinic. The Headteachers of the participating schools agreed to provide this information. Part II which was completed by the class teacher was designed to obtain information on the child's overall progress at school, his standing in particular areas of the curriculum, and the patterns of behaviour and friendship which he displayed. This data was based on rating scales and utilised the teacher's perceptions of her pupils' progress.

(2) Psychometric Criteria (Attainment Tests)

During the final stages of the project the research team were mainly concerned with work of assessing the population under study on a battery of tests designed to measure attainment in the basic subjects. The majority of tests composing the battery were standardised tests all of which are currently available through agencies in this country together with a non-verbal measure of intellectual development. The main areas of development assessed were related to reading the number skills and vocabulary.

1. Chazan, M (1968) Compensatory Education: Defining the Problem. Occasional Publication No 1, Schools Council Project in Compensatory Education, U C Swansea.

2. Burt, C (1957) The Causes and Treatment of Backwardness. P 17. U L P.

3. Chazan, M (op cit).

4. Plowden Vol 11, P 208.

5. Plowden Vol 1, P 297.

6. The Plowden reports Recommendations for Identifying Children in Need of Extra Help.
Ferguson, N; Davies, Pat; Evans, Roy; Williams P.
Educational Research, Vol 13, No 3, June 1971.

7. Field Report No 6; Bulletin Nos 1 and 2; Oc Pub No 2.
Schools Council Research and Development Project in Compensatory Education.

8.

THE TEACHER AS RESEARCHER:

A KEY TO INNOVATION AND CHANGE

by

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THE TEACHER AS RESEARCHER - A KEY TO INNOVATION AND CHANGE+

A Working Party Discussion Paper

This paper is concerned with developing workable and practical solutions for certain pressing educational problems, through a particular conception of research. It also hopes to raise some issues in relation to research in education generally, as inevitably the approach stands to be compared with other approaches. A critique is raised against existing approaches but it must be understood that this critique does not deny the value of more usual modes, except in terms of their usefulness for changing practices in schools.

A basic theme is an attempt to break down the heavily entrenched distinction between theory and practice. Research being the means whereby theoretical knowledge is built up and teaching and learning being the practice. The plea is for the development of research in education that can at the same time that it has the necessary rigour, also bear a relation to the way people in the classroom think and act and experience their worlds, and in doing so help in change.

Firstly I shall discuss some aspects of relevancy in research and explore some problems arising out of the idea that our observational procedure have a determining influence on our findings,and also on what become problems for us. The significance of this is to point to the notion that it may be crucial for us, as researchers or teachers, to seek explanations for why certain things become problems and not to take them for granted as starting points.

Secondly I wish, in suggesting that teachers and researchers problems may be different, to point to some reason why existing modes of research lack significance for change in schools.

Finally I wish to open up some suggestions for teachers as researchers.

Relevance

By relevance of research is meant here research that can have some results in changing practices in schools. It will be suggested that questions of the implementation of research should be integrated with the normal research activities of generating findings.

+ Not for publication or citation.

Both should be seen as research activities. Further it asks for a breakdown of the usual barriers between researchers and researched and necessarily entails that teachers, and possibly pupils, may in different ways, become involved in research projects which are designed co-operatively with them to solve their problems and to help them make explicit what their problems might be.

That there are different conceptions of methodology and that these have their related theoretical presuppositions has, at any rate, in relation to Sociology, been discussed by a number of writers (Wilson T.P. 1970; Dawe, A.1970; Horton J. 1966).

What is significant is that these differing perspectives entail their own consequences for problem-oriented research, arising out of their differing models of man, social interaction and society, because they point to differing methodologies and data collection techniques.

An important consideration arising here is that researchers' problems can be seen to be determined by their particular perspective. This would arise from accepting that there are alternative perspectives. One rationale for breaking down distinctions between researchers and researched arises out of a theoretical perspective which breaks down the distinction between the knower and the known. What we know rather than being independent of our ways of coming to know, our methodology, may be seen as being determined by these processes of coming to know. This means that differing methodologies with their related theoretical perspectives themselves create different relevancies.

This is exemplified by inevitably different value biases in any social science, and by differing definitions of what and where the problems are.

The debate on cultural deprivation exhibits these differences fairly clearly. In sociology the emphasis in explanations for the relative failure of the working class child is a stress on the importance of early socialisation and factors antecedent to school experience. Explanations stressing the possibility of later socialisation and in terms of processes operating within schools have hardly been explored.

The open university second-level course 'School and Society'in large part expresses the latter. See especially set books by Cosin, B. et al (eds) 1970, and Young, M.F.D. (1971).

By not taking into account the school as an agency in the creation of failure and success the research can be seen to give an ideological underpinning to educators. A similar picture emerges on an examination of the deprivation literature.

On the one hand are those who hold to a notion of cultural deficit (Passow) and from that starting point as a definition of the problem, make certain curricular and policy proposals. Their arguments and position equates with m models of genetic inferiority (Jensen, 1969, Eysenck 1971). On the other are those who reject the idea of cultural deficit (Freidman, N. 1966, Lobov W, 1969) There are others who point to a cultural difference model at one level, but through having notions of a 'mainstream culture' (Baratz and Baratz 1970) or notions that what is required is education, not compensatory education (Bernstein 1970) can be seen at another deeper level to be operating a cultural deficit model.

The deficit or cultural deprivation model has widespread acceptance for certain reasons to be discussed. It arises out of certain assumptions underlying the research. The two to be discussed are those of Consensus models and those suggesting that research operations do not have determining influence on findings. It will be important for the arguments to come, to drop both these assumptions.

The deficit view can be seen to be a product of research arising out of researchers' consensus assumptions and ethnocentric view of society, culture, linguistic ability, cognition, emotionality and what counts as an adequate mother. The notion of culture used confuses the meaning of culture in a high-culture sense (e.g. including nursery rhymes, fairy stories, poetry, music, painting), and culture in an anthropological sense. In the latter sense it is not possible for children to be culturally deprived, only <u>different</u>.

Generally the research on educational performance measures properties of those who 'succeed' in education and takes these as criteria of educability. By contrast it shoes the lack of these properties (educability) in those who do not succeed.

The relative failure is 'explained' in terms of things they do not possess, i.e. deficits. The child and his home become a 'vacuum', the parents place less value on education, don't have books in the house, visit the school less, children have low aspirations, low achievement-orientations and so on.

Because the research operates only in terms of the properties of the successful, in effect 'working class' children are being described as inadequate because they are not middle class.

A further problem is that in this field conditions of research are not seen as crucial in determining what becomes data for analysis. The usual survey instruments and operations are not only class-biased, as described, but also preclude the possibility of finding out about the culture, in the anthropological sense, of the'deprived'groups. In the important area of language, Labov (1969) has demonstrated that the apparent linguistic incompetence of black children is generated by the research itself, where data is collected in a test situation. He records data collected by direct observation to show that in his normal life the ghetto negro participates fully in a highly elaborate verbal culture, uses well-formed logically sophisticated sentences, has the same basic vocabulary and the same capacity for conceptual learning as others. He gives an example:-

> 'Here for example is a complete interview with a Negro boy, one of hundreds carried out in a New York City school. The boy enters a room where there is a large, friendly white interviewer, who puts on the table in front of him a block or fire engine, and says, 'Tell me everything you can about this' (The interviewers further remarks are in parentheses).
> (12 seconds of silence)
> (What would you say it looks like ?)
> (8 seconds of silence)
> A space ship
> (Hmmm)
> (13 seconds of silence)
> Like a je-et
> (12 seconds of silence)
> Like a plane
> (20 seconds of silence)
> (What colour is it ?)
> Orange (2 seconds) An' whi-ite (2 seconds) An' green,
> (6 seconds of silence)
> (An' what could you use it for ?)
> (8 seconds of silence)
> A je-et
> (6 seconds of silence)

(If you had two of them, what would you do with them ?)
(6 seconds of silence)
Give one to some-body
(Hmmm. Who do you think would like to have it ?)
Cla-rence
(Um. Where do you think we could get another one of these ?)
At the store.
(Oh ka-ay !)

We have here the same kind of defensive, monosyllabic behaviour which is reported in Bereiter's work. What is the situation that produces it ? The child is in an asymmetrical situation where anything he says can literally be held against him. He has learned a number of devices to <u>avoid</u> saying anything in this situation, and he works very hard to achieve this end.

.....

If one takes this interview as a measure of the verbal capacity of the child, it must be as his capacity to defend himself in a hostile and threatening situation. But unfortunately thousands of such interviews are used as evidence of the child's total verbal capacity, or more simply his 'verbality'; it is argued that this lack of verbality <u>explains</u> his poor performance in school'.

As he comments, the research situation is the most important determinant of verbal performance.

The explanation for the widespread acceptance of a cultural deprivation view, despite some very strong evidence against it, is that it seems to give plausible explanations for inadequate performance in school. It also implicitly legitimates the dominant (mainstream) culture in terms of which these groups are gauged deprived. Freidman (Freidman (66) Talking about America) has pointed out that when it is linked to policy measures it appeals to those of the various ideological persuasions. 'Liberals' accept it as doing something in relation to a social problem and conservatives see it as ' keeping slum kids straight','or preventing the social dynamite of the slums from exploding'. Our problems may not be so severe but the point still holds for us.

The deprivation model entails a determination of where the problems are, and this in turn determines where the solutions lie, and the nature of the solutions. The child is deprived, he is a deficit system and may be described in terms of properties he does not possess. He therefore requires compensatory programmes.

These programmes leave all existing arrangements intact with the exception of the culture of the child. This they undermine by operating as if the child had no culture. The problem and the solution are being determined by research whose findings are in important ways determined more by the researcher's assumptions that by 'empirical reality'.

The alternative model sees the problem as residing in institutions which define and process children and knowledge. (Young, M.F.D. 1970). It would not see children as failing the school but the school as failing the children. The relevance of home background factors would not be denied, but the formulation would be different.

Explanations would be demanded in terms of what the children do have, rather than don't have in conjunction with what it is that occurs in schools that makes cultural background relevant for educational performance.

Approaches which approximate this are relatively rare. Their related programmes of action would point to undermining practices in schools, to fitting the institution to the person rather than the person to the institution. Most significantly for questions of change, this approach by locating the problems in the school, puts these problems within the control of teachers and points to the need to look for solutions within the school. The explanations of the former approach are in terms of factors largely outside the control of schools; all this approach can do therefore is to suggest ways of compensating for the perceived deficits.

From the alternative point of view, ignoring for the moment the important question of wider institutional constraints, change can be seen in terms of changing definitions in terms of which teachers operate within the teaching situation. Given this, then research which is relevant as defined must have the potential to create new definitions of reality, which may be appropriated by the teacher and in terms of which the teacher can change his practices. The question then comes back to the relationship between the organisation of research and its ability to change practice and the case for breaking down distinctions between researcher and researched, and findings and implementation. This requires further critique

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Teachers Problems and Researchers Problems

The general organisation of research is that one set of people (researchers) carry out research on another set of people (e.g.teachers). This research is published in various journals where those on whom it was done may or may not read it. There are a number of reasons why the chances of such research having practical

outcomes in classrooms are small. The most obvious arises out of the lack of institutional means for transmitting results, getting these accepted as desirable and translating the results into teaching practices. Some journals state use or implementation of research as an aim, for instance Research Into Higher Education Abstracts (December 1971). 'It seeks to make research findings more widely available and to promote their more effective use'. Educational Research, Vol. 14, No. 2, February 1972, states on the front page 'A review for teachers, and all concerned with progress in education', (Progress I take to entail change). This activity of disseminating results is important, but a review of the research published in various journals can, I believe, be seen to reveal a series of characteristics, some more obvious than others, which mitigates against such results changing practice. I shall discuss this in three parts; firstly, that the purposes of researchers are different from those of teachers. Their problems and definitions of what is going on arise out of, and are created by, their differing contexts. Secondly, problems arising out of the fact that research generally is carried out in situations other than those in which the action occurs. The neglected situation ? Thirdly, problems arising out of the hierarchical nature of the social organisation of research. In each of these it is hoped to show that existing research has problems in so far as it may be used to enable teachers to see their world in a different way. This being the definition of relevancy mentioned previously. I shall illustrate with examples from two particular pieces of research. Although what is said may be critical, the merits of these works is not denied. Rather they are to be judged here in terms of the criteria of relevance as defined, these not necessarily being goals of the particular researchers. The articles by Nash (Nash 1971) and Barnes (Barnes 1971) have been chosen as they have a potential importance for changing practice. They both involve classroom observation and therefore constitute more of a test case for this discussion.

Generally research is designed within an academic or educational debate..This can be seen in the introduction to most articles where discussion is usually held

and translating the results into teaching practices. Some journals state use or implementation of research as an aim, for instance Research Into Higher Education Abstracts (December 1971). 'It seeks to make research findings more widely available and to promote their more effective use'. Educational Research, Vol. 14, No. 2, February 1972, states on the front page 'A review for teachers, and all concerned with progress in education', (Progress I take to entail change). This activity of disseminating results is important, but a review of the research published in various journals can, I believe, be seen to reveal a series of characteristics, some more obvious than others, which mitigates against such results changing practice. I shall discuss this in three parts; firstly, that the purposes of researchers are different from those of teachers. Their problems and definitions of what is going on arise out of, and are created by, their differing contexts. Secondly, problems arising out of the fact that research generally is carried out in situations other than those in which the action occurs. The neglected situation ? Thirdly, problems arising out of the hierarchical nature of the social organisation of research. In each of these it is hoped to show that existing research has problems in so far as it may be used to enable teachers to see their world in a different way. This being the definition of relevancy mentioned previously. I shall illustrate with examples from two particular pieces of research. Although what is said may be critical, the merits of these works is not denied. Rather they are to be judged here in terms of the criteria of relevance as defined, these not necessarily being goals of the particular researchers. The articles by Nash (Nash 1971) and Barnes (Barnes 1971) have been chosen as they have a potential importance for changing practice. They both involve classroom observation and therefore constitute more of a test case for this discussion.

Generally research is designed within an academic or educational debate..This can be seen in the introduction to most articles where discussion is usually held on other work done. 'The influence of teacher attitudes or expectations upon the behaviour of school children has been discussed in several recent studies....' (Nash 1971). Such research is usually offered as supplementing or criticising existing research and appears to be geared to an audience other than those on whom the research was carried out.

It is designed for the purpose of increasing knowledge among a certain group and not for purposes of change, and especially it is not expressed in terms which are related to problems of implementation. Teachers face in their daily life other problems for which they generate understandings and explanations different

from those pf researchers. These understandings arise out of the different contexts of the culture of the school, personal biography, education and purposes or intentions in the work situation. The divergence of intentions and background of researchers and teachers may put researchers in positions where their work generated from one set of relevances does not comprehend the world of the teacher, through not getting at or making available the teachers intentions and problems. It would be useful to have some knowledge of how teachers use research and whether they find it has a bearing on what they are going to do on 'Monday morning'. I would guess that the research read by most teachers, although possibly interesting in other respects, has little to say to them that can affect their teaching.

The work of Barnes is the kind of research that if read by teachers could lead them to change their understandings of classroom situations. It does illuminate in a way which research expressed in measured variables cannot, but it can be shown that Barnes' interpretations of data are pre-determined by his problems and assumptions as a researcher. These problems cannot be said to be the problems of those being studied. Through not getting at teachers' purposes the research may fail to explain why teachers act as they do, and thus not produce the kinds of findings which would more readily lead to change. By imputing different intentions to his teachers it is possible to come up with alternative interpretations of his data. I show this later.

In analysing transcript, Barnes assumes that the teacher's intention is to get over the material he is talking about. He finds that teachers do not see that their use of language prevents them from achieving their tasks of getting over the material. 'Language which is an essential instrument to him is a barrier to them'. An example: (Barnes 1969, page 48-49).

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'The act of giving a technical name seems for many teachers to have taken on a value of its own in separation from its utility; in this case the naming activity is totally irrelevant to the process which it interrupts.

Later in the same lesson the teacher, his attention upon purposeless name teaching, fails to notice a pupil whose reply shows his incomprehension.

T	Now I don't know whether any of you could jump the gun a bit and tell me what actually is this green stuff which produces green colour....
P	Er .. um .. water
T	No .. Have you heard of chlorophyll ?

The pupil's reply should have warned the teacher that there were children in the

class to whom he was communicating nothing. (When seen in the total context of the lesson, the child's reply must mean no less than this). This makes the teacher's wish to teach the word 'chlorophyll' double irrelevant. His desire to teach terminology prevents him from perceiving his true tasks'.

Barnes has other data showing that teachers proceed as if pupils were not having difficulties, that teachers do not accept pupils' responses which show that they have grasped a meaning where this is expressed in their's and not the teacher's vocabulary, and that generally the way teachers talk limits the ways in which pupils can participate, and therefore limits learning. Assumptions that teachers are there to teach something ('His desire to teach terminology' etc.) leads Barnes to create this anomaly. An anomaly which would disappear if the data were interpreted from the standpoint of different assumptions. Thus if a dominant or prior problem of the teacher is assumed to be one of control and authority , then data which shows teachers ignoring pupil's verbal activity and pupils engaging only minimally'in learning as actively intelligent adults do' is no longer anomalous. The teacher's language and treatment of pupils can be seen to serve his purposes of controlling the class and maintaining his ascendent position.

The point is not only that the researcher's assumptions about purposes make the teacher's actions problematic for him but that through doing so it is unable to ask questions about why teachers act like this. The answers to such questions, it is believed, would lead to research that would have greater relevance through it being more related to the problems of teachers than, in this case, the prescriptive asssumptions of researchers.

The second series of problems arises out of the neglect of the importance of the

class 'to whom he was communicating nothing. (When seen in the total context of the lesson, the child's reply must mean no less than this). This makes the teacher's wish to teach the word 'chlorophyll' double irrelevant. His desire to teach terminology prevents him from perceiving his true tasks'.

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The second series of problems arises out of the neglect of the importance of the situation in which teaching and learning occur, so that research results may not be translatable back to the actions of those from whom it was generated.

Research using measured variables generally operates in terms of categories which are researcher's categories. Such categories are generally not those used by the subjects; Nash, for example, (Nash 1971, page 142) gives us the following:- The coefficients of correlation between construct rank and the ability measures were:-

Construct Rank -
Reading Quotient r = 0. 31 n.107
Construct Rank -
Ability Rank r = 0. 36 n.144

These correlations are significant at the five-per-cent level'.

The construct Rank is a measure built up by assigning numerical values to a series of teachers constructs and summing. It is a reduction to numbers of teachers categories on an individual child. Such a measure can have no meaning for a teacher's actions in the classroom. Where the same or similar vocabularies are used by actors and researchers, researchers are unable to check that they have the same meaning. Nash equates the child's measured ability with observations he makes of the child in the classroom situation - (George). 'Of low ability - quite apparent. His writing alone is sufficient evidence of his poor attainment and ability'. We have no way of knowing whether the researcher's measured ability or his interpretational imputations are the categories in terms of which the teacher operates. The problem is compounded by lack of agreement by researchers on nominal/ theoretical definitions and by use of different operations. A classic example here would be the different theoretical meanings and ways of measuring social class.

The article by Nash, which uses classroom observation, gives a more subtle illustration of the way researchers' categories may transcend the categories in terms of which teachers operate while they are teaching, by not being able to show the connection between measured attitudes and action - of either pupil or teacher. He says, 'these studies (on the influence of teacher attitude and expectations on the behaviour of school children) point to a hitherto neglected problem. However, none has attempted to measure the attitudes of individual teachers to individual pupils directly'. He uses a modified form of Kelly's Respertory Grid technique to illicit (not in the teaching situation) categories in terms of which teachers see children. His findings are significant positive correlations between teacher attitudes and measures of children's ability and attainment (see above). He then uses observations 'to relate the perception of the teachers directly to the behaviour of the pupils in the classroom'. That is observations are categorised in terms of constructs previously illicited from the teacher. This is an attempt then to apply results generated out of a situation back to the situation. The validity of his classroom observations rest on the untested assumption that his assignement of observed events into the constructs would equate with those of the teacher. It is observed (John). '9.30. The teacher is testing the children's ability to tell the time. She holds a large wooden clock face with moveable hands set at nine-o-clock. 'What do you do at that time ?' she asks. A boy answers 'I come to school'. John calls out, 'I go to my bed at nine-o-clock. The teacher moves the hands several times and always John raises his hand eager to answer. 'How many minutes past twelve ?' asks the teacher. A boy gets up for some reason and blocks John's view, 'I canna see', he calls'. This is interpreted under the construct of ability.

'Of high ability

Note particularly the way he realises that nine-o-clock comes round twice a day. I go to by bed at nine-o-clock, he says in response to a child who has given the expected answer. 'At nine-o-clock I come to school'. Note that his work is neat and that no errors are observed.

This illustrates not only a confusion of data and interpretations but also the 'data' does not even match the interpretations. John may have had this answer in mind before the first boy had his, or it may have been the only way he saw it. Also there is no way to show that in this or any of the other cases that these constituted the teacher's categories for interpretating John's actions. Similarly the constructs do not have discrete meanings, nor are there rules available for assigning observed events into the categories. The data above could equally have illustrated other of the constructs such as'demanding of attention' or 'vivacious'. (John raises his hand, eager to answer) 'poorly behaved' (John calls out). Of course this approach also would not enable the teacher who read it to gain new insight into her activity because it is mounted entirely for the purposes and problems of the researcher and does not take account of those of the teacher. If it did it would have greater potential for helping her.

The above approach also does not recognise the idea that the situation itself is an important determinant in the generation of data, and that social situations require analysis in their own right. Labov's data quoted illustrates this point which can be elaborated by a few brief comments on the social organisation of research situations as being of a hierarchical nature.. This demonstrates more clearly ways in which features of research situations can be seen to have influence on what comes to pass as data. Labov has suggested that the poor language performance of the negro in test situations can be explained in terms of the subject's need to defend himself. In terms of this assumption of the subject's intention he gives the data the quite opposite interpretation as demonstrating a highly effective use of language.

In a recent review of B.F.Skinner's book 'Beyond Freedom and Dignity', Argyris (Argyris 1971) summarises some of his work. He suggests that the hierarchical organisation of research puts researchers in positions where they have power to define the goals of the research, that they require a measure of control over their subjects, especially that subjects will do as they are asked, and where the information given to subjects will be minimal. Added to this, subjects for many reasons may be defensive in research situations, and indulge in self-protective strategies. As a result of being put in this subordinate position, individuals distort information and researchers gain invalid information, thus data does not mean what they think it means because people's intentions and constructions of the researcher's purposes are not revealed. Researchers generally assume these not to be relevant.

I would suggest that the preponderance of research on relatively captive subjects is due to researchers' needs to be in an ascendant position over subjects for control purposes. Thus children in schools, students, mental patients, teachers, prisoners, the working class and so on are not in positions where they are able to easily avoid being researched. Such people are, however, if they feel that the research may in some way affect them, still be in a position to control in various ways the information that researchers get. This problem has been recognised by certain researchers such as Cicourel (Cicourel, 1967). For example those in power positions can control the researcher's access to certain areas, individuals may present themselves in a more favourable manner for the researcher's benefit or they may want to co-operate and give him what <u>they</u> think he wants. Researchers cannot be in control of their subjects, but their very attempts to do so may lead to them gaining information which in their terms is invalid.

The above critique has been necessary in order to make a case for teachers as researchers. This critique has been mounted against general research on the grounds of its inadequacy to help in change in schools. At some levels the case is obvious. Researchers have their particular purposes and do not pretend to be concerned with change. In fact to do so might smack of the unscientific. The main fault of most research has been made in terms of its inability to be applied back to the contexts from which it was generated, in such a way as to have meaning for those on whom it was conducted. The critique points to a remedy viz the teacher as a researcher. In suggesting this, one is suggesting a kind of action-oriented research, a research which has different objectives and a different social organisation. The different social organisation is necessary for the attainement of the objectives.

If the basic objective is change and research is to play a part then conflict is more liable to occur where the researchers stand in a dominant position over subjects, doing research <u>on</u> them. Such conflict will manifest itself as competing definitions of goals and problems. Research that had a different social organisation and treated implementation as part of the research activity would not have predicatable outcomes. Not only this but such activities must be seen developmentally and as a continuous process. Argyris (Argyris 1971) has stated the problem:

'One of the important challenges faced by researchers is how to generate the rigour and systematic approach inherent in the scientific method, yet, after these procedures, to give more influence to the subject..... Is it possible to develop research procedures which provide these properties to the subject ? I believe it is, especially where the social scientist joins with the subjects, together to study and re-design their environment'.

The importance of research expertise is not to be underestimated. The problem is being able to use expertise and not create the kinds of threats which create uncontrolled distortions in results.

Teachers and researchers should together define the problems. This is based on the idea that teachers have considerable knowledge unavailable to researchers of their institutional setting. But just as the knowledge which researchers generate has been shown to be problematic, and only one of many possible accounts of the situation, so the knowledge which teachers have of children, the nature of learning, the nature of the institution and so on can also be shown to be one of many possible accounts. If teachers could operate in various forms as researchers, it may be possible for them to gain new insights and understanding of their world, on which new practices may be based. Teachers' knowledge need no longer be treated as something which researchers study, but as a resource and having a value, which can contribute to new understandings. Teachers, for instance, working co-operatively with researchers could raise problems for researchers and researchers for teachers, to the ends of improving teaching and learning. The results of such research should be translatable into practice because they would have been developed dialectically with practice.

Non-hierarchical forms of organisation for such research are believed to be critically important because they enable the expertise of the outsider to be utilised without the creation of defensiveness, resentfulness and cautiousness. Defences should be minimised where researchers and teachers have developed common goals which especially teachers desire and where researchers are concerned with their practical problems. Too much research indicates things that are wrong with teachers without appreciating teachers' problems. It seldom offers explanations for what is wrong and is unable to help.

The idea of teachers as researchers could be operated in many different ways. Teachers themselves could carry out research, given time. They could be the main initiators and could use outside researchers as consultants. Researchers could initiate work. I myself am engaged in such research, looking at student teachers

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The idea of teachers as researchers could be operated in many different ways. Teachers themselves could carry out research, given time. They could be the main initiators and could use outside researchers as consultants. Researchers could initiate work. I myself am engaged in such research, looking at student teachers in schools (teaching practice etc.) We operate in such a way that the students alter their practices in schools and we are also feeding back fairly continuously our results to staff and students in the Department, with the aim of improving the courses. In-service courses could be operated which are open-ended enough to enable teachers to carry out research activity to change their methods and materials. (James, Cycle 3 ?). The Barnes study arose out of such a course. He reports (Barnes, page 13) 'The teachers participating found this an enlightening and disturbing task. The study provided information on far more matters than I had expected, and did so in a way which challenged the group to inspect their own assumptions about teaching.'

Those seeking change inevitably come up against institutional constraints, but not many of us ever really challenge our institutions to the point of meeting totally inflexible resistance. I see the main problem of questioning the basic assumptions underlying our activities, and of changing our consciousness. Research, because it produces new insights, should be reformulated as an agent of change, and nowhere in this reformulation more required than in relation to the educationally disaffected.

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PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION FOR A CULTURAL MINORITY - GYPSIES

by

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Working Group D. Education Policy Making and Minority Groups

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Problems of Educational Policy Design and Implementation for a Cultural Minority - Gypsies.

I consider myself especially privileged to have been the Research Officer of the National Gypsy Education Council for the past three years. Nationally, I have been in touch with the various developments that have taken place regarding Gypsy education. Locally, that is, in the East Riding of Yorkshire I have been part of the voluntary response which has made viable educational provision available for this group of children. The Local Educational Authority have now taken over the direct responsibility for the children concerned. I mention these facts now so much as to lend authority to the statements I am about to make, as to stress the vantage point I have had to observe the evolution and associated problems, of educational policies designed for this ambivalently viewed romantic and despised cultural minority.

The Education Act of 1944 [1] certainly took account of minorities of one kind or another, and attempted to be flexible over the issue of children's attendance if the parents occupations demanded geographic mobility. It says that parents travelling for the sake of their lively-hood are not considered to be guilty of an offence provided their children have registered at a school and attended "as regularly as the nature of the trade or business of their parents permits" or at least 200 days during the previous 12 months.

Despite these attempts at making policy comprehensive in coverage, very few Gypsy children have attended school following the Acts relating to universal compulsory education. The report "Gypsies and Other Travellers" 1967 [2] stated that there were 6,000 children belonging to Gypsy families in England and Wales, and in the light of the Report's acceptance that these figures were probably an under-estimate, and the fact that it is 7 years since the census was taken, the writer would suggest that there are now probably double that number of

children. Lady Plowden's Report "Children and Their Primary Schools" 1967[3] estimated that of the 6,000 or so children, only 10% were attending school. Quite clearly something has been amiss in the relationship between the educational authorities and the Gypsy families.

Using this particular example I would like to try and analyse why the policies for this minority have apparently not worked, and further to isolate and define the major factors pertinent to designing and implementing educational policies for minority groupings. The main reason for the failure of this supposedly flexible policy to get Gypsy children into school, has been that although the legislation provided for legal facility, there has been no detailed analysis of the factors which have been responsible for poor school attendance in the past, and which might still be significant in militating against it in the future.

The first problem must of course be related to the fact, that the educational system is basically designed for a fairly static population. It is possible therefore, for schools and other educational facilities to be of a permanent character, and thus, for the majority, regular school-attendance is not only desirable, but possible. Because of society's concern and interest in education, school-attendance has been made compulsory and in cases of default, "follow-up encouragement" is made possible by the relatively permanent nature of the population. The Gypsies being nomadic, by cultural tradition and economic necessity, have not fitted in to these arrangements very satisfactorily. Their high rate of mobility has mainly been the result of occupational demands and police harassment. This has made Gypsy parents, who are as concerned about the welfare of their children as any group of parents are, reluctant to try and get their children to local schools. The local educational authorities have been equally reluctant in fulfilling their statutory obligations in terms of the 'follow-up encouragement'. This has often been associated with reticence on the part of the community to accept the responsibility for Gypsies and other travellers. The reluctance by local authorities to follow-up Gypsy children, has been tied up often with local political pressure directed at not accepting the Gypsies into the local community, either for camping or school

attendance. Such pressure may have been manifest in police evictions or in head teachers refusing to accept Gypsy children into their schools. Head teachers have often acted in this manner in consequence of settled parents complaining about Gypsy admissions to their local schools. Sometimes local educational authorities have been unaware of Gypsy children in their area. Again any official investigation on the part of the authority may well be met with indifference from Gypsy parents, and with such an inscrutable people, it is difficult to assess both parental demand for educational services, and the actual number of children that might require and benefit from them.

From the parents side of the coin, there are many factors besides the ones already referred to above, which have prevented their children from benefiting from the availability of educational provision, that has at any rate, existed in theory. Firstly Gypsies concept of time is so different to that of the settled community, and getting up in the morning by 8.00 a.m. so as to get the children ready for school, has not always been possible, or considered important. Allied to this point is the further consideration, that if parents are unsettled or expect police evictions any day, then concern for school-attendance may understandbly be low. Gypsy parents are child centered educators and are very conscious of their childrens own wishes with regard to school attendance. Considering their anxious self-consciousness at going to an institution that is clearly identified with the often hostile settled community, together with the hostility and prejudice they may receive from other children and even staff, it is not surprising that so few have wanted to go to school.
A very important reason for poor school-attendance is that Gypsies are over conscious about our sources of prejudice regarding them. To avoid justification for prejudice and also to protect their children, they are concerned that their children go to school 'clean' and well dressed. Economic and domestic difficulties often make this difficult.

Gypsy children have a different socializing environment; they live out-of-doors most of their lives and parents' control over them need be less severe or successful, as their homes do not have coffee tables with glass vases or fancy china cabinets. Gypsy parents are aware that their children's behaviour may be very different to that of their peers in the settled community. For this

reason, parents very often fear that their children's behaviour in school will be unacceptable and so will provide further justification for confirming stereo-types and thus facilitating prejudice.

Some older children and juveniles often do not attend school on account of their economic and domestic roles within the family. Considering the great and irreconcilable discrepancies in ability between them and other school children of the same age, it is unlikely that this group of young people would want to go to school and suffer obvious humiliation at either being put into classes of younger children, or being dubbed 'retarded' and put at the back of the class. If children are subject to constant migrations with the result of spasmodic school attendance, their performance at school, as seen by the parents and judged in terms of acquiring literacy, may be correspondingly poor. If school welfare officers do not approach Gypsy parents then the onus is on the parent to find the right school and ask for their children's admission. This course of action is obvious enough to us, but to one who does not understand 'catchment areas', infant from junior schools and who does not possess the social confidence that is required and accepted for this type of action, it can prove an extremely bewildering duty. These are just some examples of the numerous and diverse factors which have acted against Gypsy children attending school, and which I suggest, the policy designed, did not take into account. Since 1965 however, there has been a growing concern over the lack of viable educational provision for these children. The manifestations of concern have mainly been in the form of a voluntary response.

Because of the restrictions on the number of words I will confine my remarks to one particular area of cardinal importance when designing educational policy for minority groups. I refer to the nature of the relationship between the minority grouping and the 'major' society responsible for designing the policy. The relationship or the position of the one to the other has an over-riding influence on the character of the policy designed not only in terms of its objectives, its means, but also in terms of the type and quantity of resources ear-marked. Any policy has implications for resources, but the relations of social groups, when transfers of resources are involved, are of paramount importance.

Let me elaborate using Gypsies as an example. Gypsies are an ethnic and social minority: there are between 15,000 and 30,000 in England and Wales. In many ways they are a classic example of the 'out group' or despised minority. They exist almost totally 'outside' our own society in a symbiotic relationship. Harmony in this relationship has too often not been present, and since 1450 when they first came to this country, Gypsies have been a scape-goating group. The hostility they have received, as a direct result of this relationship, has kept them very separate and retarded efforts at, or processes of, integration. They have managed to retain much of their traditional culture and still today bear many resemblances to a primitive people of hunters and gatherers.

Over the centuries, Gypsies have adapted to the changing social and economic forces of the indigenous society and as our society has increasingly become more literate, the Gypsies have correspondingly been at an increasing disadvantage in not being able to meet basic expectations when involved in both official and unofficial communication with the major society.
Examples come to mind of reading the Highway Code prior to the driving test and reading regulations or danger signs that one sees about everywhere in our technologically ravaged society.

Finding it difficult to obtain literacy from the schools, Gypsies have adapted to this situation in a number of ways. The first is by having the most outstanding memories. Secondly and more significantly, extended-family groups have always had one member who can read and write. They perform the clear function of 'scribe' to the community. There are two factors, however, which may now be responsible for the increased demand for literacy among Gypsy parents. The first is that there is now more social and economic contact between the two communities and thus relative deprivation becomes a meaningful concept to the Gypsies with regard to the sense of social inadequacy that illiteracy may promote. Secondly, in an increasingly difficult economic environment, literacy is seen as a further aid to manipulating our society more successfully towards their ends. For both these reasons there seems to be a genuine and in some cases, a vigorous demand for educational provision.

The National Gypsy Council, a self-help group formed in the mid-1960s with middle-class assistance has compaigned generally for more social provision for the Gypsy community; education, sites, social and legal rights etc. Their definition of educational need was implicitly that any provision must take account of Gypsy culture and must not attempt integration. The unreality of this position may have been a reason for the explicit re-definition of need that was used to recruit professional non-Gypsy educationalists and pressure group tactitions. This new area of voluntary response defined the need on the grounds that the Gypsy children were deprived, and needed extensive remedial and compensatory education within the state education system. The National Gypsy Council wanted to see a separate system of educational provision set up. The 'professionals', however, have grouped themselves into a powerful and articulate pressure group, who on the one hand want education for Gypsy children without damaging their culture, but see it as only possible within the State system. Their pressure for policies and requests for funds to local education authorities and other statutory and voluntary organisations, required a further change in the definition of need with its implications for eventual ends and means. The local education authorities finally interprets the aims of special educational policy towards this minority as one which will be compatible with the wishes of the direct resource contributors (tax and rate payers), but the final definition of need may be quite different to the original and initial one.

There is therefore a chain of identifiers of 'needs' and this is facilitated by a number of persons or organisations which are part of, and initiate, the dynamics of this differential need perception for the one reason that explicit communications on the nature of 'need' is always made vague. If not, then there is the further requirement of another organisation or person who will be acceptable to both sides (or both links in the chain) and who will then communicate a compromised definition of 'need' towards the goal of acceptability by the major resource contributors. This evolution of, or chain of events, involving as it does differential need perception is essential as before resources are transferred the doners have to be sympathetic to basic objectives. Unless the case requesting Resource Transfer is made in terms acceptable to the doners or agents, there is little hope of successful application.

The dynamics of differential need perception refer to the impact and pressures created by one agent's perception of need on the nature of need as perceived by the other agents in the analysis. For example a single person may in the voluntary sector identify a need for traveller children's education on the principle of the children being deprived of equal educational opportunity. This may then be made explicit for the purposes of resource mobilization in terms of vague communications with other sectors. The need may then be re-identified on a different set of principles which in the case say of a local authority, will be related to and influenced by factors such as statutory responsibilities, traditional policy responses, professional staff and administrative structures and possibilities. This re-orientation of need perception may as a result change the nature of response not anticipated by the original sources of need recognition. The point being that between the earliest identification of need, (the voluntary worker being seen as a catalyst) and the eventual policy response, there are many direct and indirect influences which come to bear before the eventual policy decisions are taken. To extend the hypothetical example - the communication of need by the local authority to a central government will again be interpreted in terms of similar factors such as administrative structures, staff, and the department's aims and frame of reference for action. The course of events does not end here however, for resources may then be devoted to the area of need on one set of principles and conditions, and utilized by the earlier respondent in relation to a different set of principles which may produce an area of conflict with regard to the use of such resources. This will in turn have an impact on the practical manifestations of policy.

Using the conceptual framework as out-lined above, I would wish to argue that, in the case of Gypsies who are viewed with such hostility by the direct educational resource contributors (tax payers) any special policies involving extra resources, such as a mobile school used to cope with the problem of mobility, would only be possible if it is seen as a first step towards integrating the Gypsies into our society. The greater the felt social and ethnic distance between the two communites, the more chance there is of conflicting aims, and the greater the need for intermediaries, to find the compromise solutions by manipulation of the details of need definition and to act as agent of Resource transfer. Who actually receives the benefits of provision made by the settled

society for a minority, is not an unimportant consideration. Because the requests for resource transfers are made on behalf of Gypsy children, there is more chance of successful application. The 'sins of the father are no longer vested in the children' and while social provision (sites etc.) for Gypsy parents is making very slow progress, the progress made for the children is considerable in comparison. Again, the indirect character of the resource transfer is important. Funds from tax-payers on the advocacy of other tax-payers 'for poor deprived Gypsy children who do not get a fair chance in our society' stand more chance of successful transfer than funds for non-resource-contributors who ask directly for money in order to aid economic adaptation and further resist integration and cultural submission. This might be desirable on many accounts, but it is unlikely to convince local education committees that special educational provision is required for this group of children.

To summarize, it can be said that if a minority grouping has special educational needs which are not provided for in the provision for the majority of the society, and for which additional and special policies are required, a transfer of resources is necessary unless internal resource mobilization is possible (see figure 1 i.e. the Gypsy community generating its own resources to do the job); this is unlikely since educational provision of any kind is very costly and especially as Gypsies have generally low incomes per capita. The concept of separate Gypsy schools to protect their own culture emerges therefore as a totally unrealistic policy. This is mainly because before resources are transferred to the area of need the 'problem' must first be defined and the definition of the need must be acceptable to the resource contributors. Their definition however, may result in resources being transferred on policy conditions which may well conflict with the real needs of the minority as perceived by themselves. For example, Gypsy parents want education for their children, but this demand is finally selective. All educational demand is selective of course, but in this particular case, it seems clear that the demand is for basic literacy.

The result is that voluntary organisations act as intermediaries, and are often the initial responders and identifiers of need. They help to articulate the reasons for claims on resources and even manipulate the definitions of the need in order to get the required resources transferred and on conditions that will not only satisfy the resource contributor, but also the minority. In the case of Gypsies the difficulty is that the resources have to be transferred across hostility boundaries (see Fig. 1). Sometimes the conditions of transfer which might conflict with grass-roots definition of need can be mitigated by the voluntary organisations acting as the agents for resource transfers. In this position they can further manipulate the conditions so the policy can even be changed.

Educational policy for minority groups should therefore consider the following points. The relationship of the minority to the 'major' society - their social and ethnic position. Who defines the 'needs' and what effect differential need perception might have on policy? Who could act as intermediaries and agents of resource transfer? What barriers have to be breached in order to get resources to the area of need?

[1] Children's and Young Persons' Act of 1933;
Education Act of 1944.

[2] Ministry of Housing and Local Government:
'Gypsies and other Travellers'; London, H.M.S.O. 1967, P.10.

[3] 'Children and their Primary Schools' (Plowden Report),
England, H.M.S.O. 1967, Vol.2. Appendix 12, P. 598.

MAIN RESOURCE CONTRIBUTORS	AREA OF RESOURCE CONSUMPTION	
	AGENTS OF RESOURCE TRANSFER	AREA OF NEED
AREA OF EXTERNAL RESOURCE MOBILIZATION		AREA OF INTERNAL RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

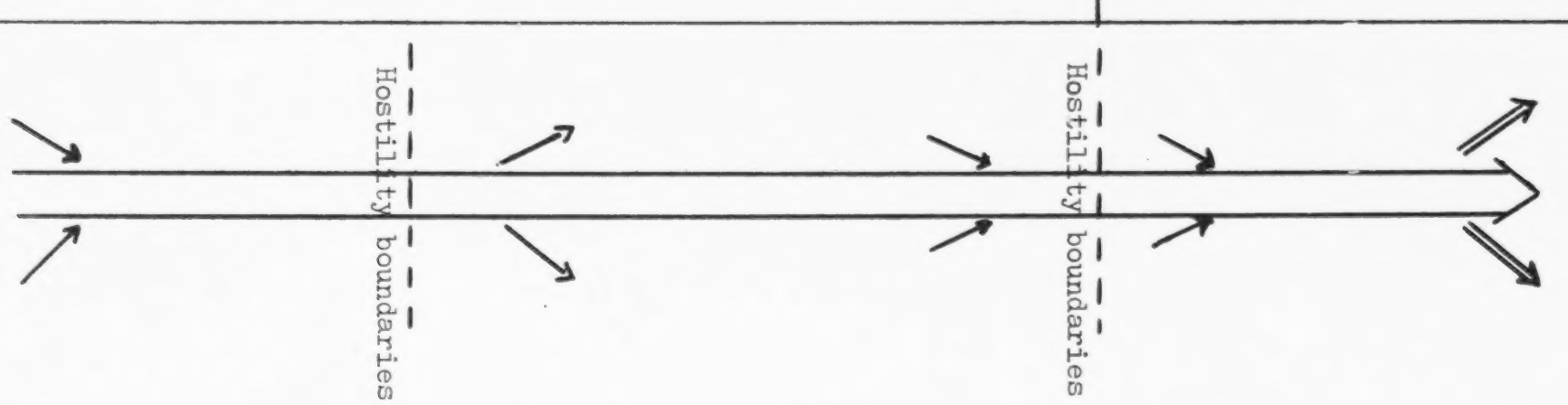

FIG. 1

DIAGRAM REPRESENTING RESOURCE MOBILIZATION TRANSFER AND CONSUMPTION AREAS.